

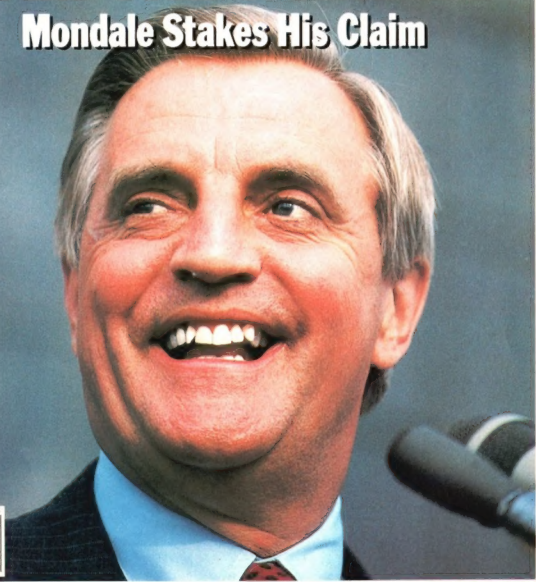
JUNE 18, 1984

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TIME

AT THE SUMMIT
Showmanship
And Politics

"I AM THE NOMINEE" Mondale Stakes His Claim



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COVER: At last Walter Mondale says he is over the top, but barely 14

He tries to heal the wounds of a long and bitter campaign, but Hart and Jackson refuse to give up the fight. The search for a winning ticket mate begins, as the Democrats brace for an uphill struggle against Ronald Reagan. Mondale will try to emulate Harry Truman and surprise the pundits, but he needs a big break to win in November. See NATION.



SUMMITRY: Reagan's tour of Europe ends with a show of harmony 34

There was plenty of pomp and cordiality, plus a shower of communiqués, as members of the world's most exclusive club met in London to talk about the Soviets, the Persian Gulf, Third World debt and economic recovery. Earlier, leaders of the Western nations allied in World War II gathered in Normandy for an emotional day of pageantry and solitary reflection. See WORLD.



WORLD: In India, militant Sikhs battle and die in a Golden Temple 42

The Indian army is sent to deal with Sikh extremists in Punjab, and a bloody battle ensues, presenting Prime Minister Indira Gandhi with a political crisis. ▶ In the Persian Gulf, the Saudi Arabian air force shoots down an Iranian plane, and the Iran-Iraq war takes a new turn. ▶ A controversial book poses a startling question: Was Pope John Paul I murdered?



29 Nation

A belated report on the funding of Reagan's transition team. ▶ John Block's complex finances. ▶ A rogue wind claims a tall ship.

74 Education

Commencement speakers for the class of '84 tackle topics ranging from the danger of nuclear war to the joys of wandering.

56 Sport

Instant Brit Zola Budd, the wonder girl of South Africa, trots barefoot into the Olympic Games with a stir but without a storm.

80 Art

Fop, egomaniac, liar and wit, Whistler was also a serious artist whose work is poised for rediscovery on his 150th anniversary.

60

Economy & Business
Olympic sponsors come down with pre-race jitters. ▶ More blues for bankers. ▶ A plan to close the federal deficit.

82

Cinema
The war between directors and movie distributors rages anew over Sergio Leone's gangster film *Once upon a Time in America*.

71

Computers
Despite exuberant forecasts, a lack of power and versatility has slowed the march of low-cost data processors into homes.

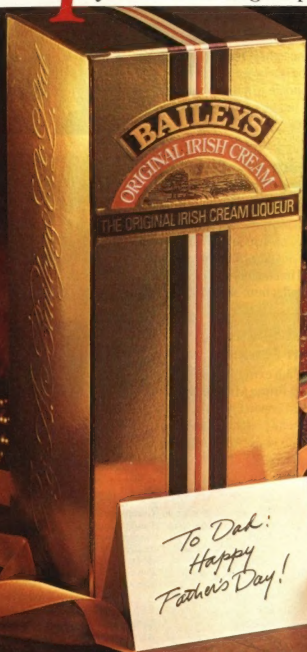
91

Behavior
A psychologist argues that too often ordinary sadness and occasional blues are labeled "depression" and treated with therapy and drugs.

5 Letters
59 People
72 Religion
76 Law
76 Milestones
78 Living
85 Books
92 Video
94 Essay

Cover:
Photograph by Diana Walker

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A Letter from the Publisher

Of all the departments in *TIME*, only one has appeared in every issue, unaltered in format, for all 61 years of the magazine's existence. That department is Milestones, essentially the compilation of births, marriages, divorces and deaths that have national or international significance. The first Milestones section, appearing in the March 3, 1923, issue, listed seven deaths. Among them: Thomas Shaw, the last survivor of the 1854 charge of the Light Brigade during the Crimean War; Mary Logan, who conceived the idea of Memorial Day; and an Indian widow who committed suicide on the funeral pyre of her husband.

Over the years, changes in the column have occurred. There has been a significant drop in the coverage of blue-blooded polo players and yacht skippers; such new categories as arrests, court cases and resignations have been added. The column's length, however, has remained about the same, as have the extreme compression of the form and the sometimes ingenious portmanteau descriptives. Dinah Shore was once referred to as a "sorch singer," Silent Film Comic Harry Langdon as a "deadpantomimer," and Mickey Rooney as a "Hardy family perennial." No longer in use are the *TIME*-coined neologisms that once peppered the section, such as "socialite," "tennist" (tennis player) and the myriad variations on "cinemactor/tress," such as "cinemedienne," "cinemoppet" and "cinemingeneus."

Always one of the magazine's best-read sections, Milestones



Medina sifts through files in *TIME* library

has continued to command the attention of both the discerning and the disputatious, who write to question such matters as Nancy Reagan's age (62) and some of the column's descriptions ("squeaky clean" sounded derogatory to fans of Singer Karen Carpenter, and esters protested a reference to Werner Erhard's movement as a "cult").

Over the decades the section has honored the talents of writers who went on to fame, among them Novelist John Hersey and Essayist John McPhee. Recalls Hersey of his first *TIME* job, which paid \$35 a week in 1937-38: "I got to know a lot of famous people, some of whom were dead." McPhee, whose term was 1958-59, still remembers a favorite epithet, "roadside gourmet," in an item on traveling Restaurant Critic Duncan Hines.

Milestones' current crafter is Sara Collins Medina, a staff writer for the past 3½ years. She is assisted by Reporter-Researcher Linda Young. Says Medina: "The process of sifting out an individual's achievements involves assimilating vast amounts of material, then compacting it to the density of poetry. The column also provides the world's most comprehensive education in the creative use of the semicolon."

John A. Meyers

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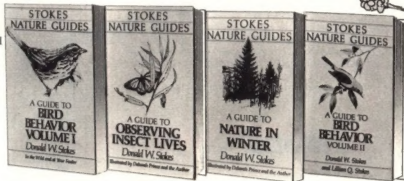
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LITTLE, BROWN and COMPANY

Still alive and kicking

You don't hear much about Susquehanna 1 or San Onofre 2. And when was the last time anybody mentioned Summer 1, McGuire 2, LaSalle 1, and St. Lucie 2? Yet these six nuclear power stations, generating thousands of megawatts of electricity, were all successfully started up in the past 17 months. Though the troubled Shorehams and Seabrooks are getting the headlines, nuclear energy is still very much alive and hard at work in America.

More than 80 nuclear plants across the country now provide about 13 percent of the nation's electrical output—displacing some 1.5 million barrels of oil a day (equal to about a third of last year's net oil imports). Despite the financial uncertainty surrounding several plants under construction, and the cancellations already announced, experts are still projecting that U.S. capacity for the nuclear generation of electricity could double by the end of the century, because of the nuclear plants already nearing completion.

The enormous cost overruns some utilities have suffered, while often ascribed to poor planning, were due in part to design and safety improvements following the Three Mile Island incident. They also reflect construction delays caused by environmentalists and other protesters. But these cost problems should not blind the nation to the solid economic advantages of nuclear electricity. For every Public Service of New Hampshire, whose Seabrook plant drove it to the edge of bankruptcy, there's a Commonwealth Edison that generates nuclear power profitably. A recent study by the intergovernmental Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) shows that nuclear generation could be cheaper than even coal-fired electricity in some areas of the U.S. And the savings over oil-fired plants would be even higher.

Nuclear power would get a real economic life-lift if construction lead times in the U.S.—and the resulting interest charges—could be brought more in line with Europe's. There it takes six to seven years to bring a new plant on stream, compared to an average of 12 years here. More uniform technical standards would help. Nuclear stations built in the U.S.—unlike those in France, for example—are, to some extent, custom-made, so each time it's necessary to reinvent the wheel, so to speak. The Congressional Office of Technology Assessment says standardizing the design and expediting the licensing of nuclear stations could lower construction costs by 20 to 25 percent, and the Reagan administration is now seeking to do this.

Many of the other problems that once hampered nuclear power have been solved. Witness the improvements in nuclear safety and regulation since the Three Mile Island accident. And now, under the Nuclear Waste Policy Act of 1982, the government is developing a detailed plan and timetable for the safe, permanent disposal of radioactive waste in deep geologic formations.

In the past 10 years, electricity has been steadily replacing oil and gas in homes and factories, and currently accounts for about 35 percent of domestic energy use. As electrical demand continues to grow in the years ahead, clean, cheap, politically secure, and environmentally safe nuclear power should play an increasingly important role in supplying it. To those who feel that the nuclear option has expired in America, we can think of no better reply than Mark Twain's witty comment: "The reports of my death are greatly exaggerated."

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Rx

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Care Costs



Fair Payment: a system to bring relief from rising hospital costs.

Hospital costs continue to go up far faster than the cost of living. But there is a way to contain these costs. It's called the "Fair Payment" system.

"Fair Payment" is a prospective payment system under which all payers, including the government, agree to pay fair prices—set in advance—for services rendered.

Such a system encourages hospitals to hold their costs down. And it helps to protect their financial well-being.

What's more, it will help to end "cost shifting," a practice that occurs when the government doesn't pay its full share of total costs for Medicare and Medicaid patients. What hospitals can't collect from Uncle Sam they shift to

private patients, inflating everyone else's bills.

"Fair Payment" is already working in some states. In Maryland, for example, the rate of increase in hospital costs per patient has been consistently lower than the national average, and high medical standards have been maintained.

Shouldn't "Fair Payment" be working in your state?

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INFORMATION

**HEALTH
INSURANCE
ASSOCIATION
OF AMERICA**

1850 K Street NW, Washington, DC 20006



RUNAWAY EMPLOYEE HEALTH CARE COSTS: REMEDIES FOR THE FUTURE

By James L. Moorefield, President,
Health Insurance Association of America



The Health Insurance Association of America represents more than 300 of the nation's health insurance companies. As a trade association it works with and informs both public and private sector groups on health care issues.

No employer today can ignore what is happening to the cost of employee health benefit plans.

Every employer has a critical stake in bringing these costs under a tighter rein.

In 1983 this nation spent an estimated \$355 billion on personal health care, 10.7% of the gross national product.

This is a burden every American bears, not alone in higher health insurance premiums, but in the increased taxes paid for Medicare and Medicaid. It is also reflected in the marked-up costs of goods and services.

The problem resists a single solution, because there is no single cause.

One unremitting pressure on costs is the virtually limitless demand for medical services. Another is the astronomical price tag on high technology, combined with new hospital expansion costs.

LACK OF COMPETITION

In addition, free-market competition, as we know it in other industries, is sorely needed. Hospitals do not operate in a normal, competitive marketplace. Physicians, not consumers, make decisions on purchasing services. Consumers do not shop for price as they do with other goods and services.

Yet another major barrier is a traditional lack of incentives in the health care field to be cost effective.

If hospitals are underpaid for Medicare and Medicaid patients, and they are, they recoup by shifting costs to all other patients—your employees and their families, for example.

Cost shifting puts no demand on efficiency and economy. In short, why cost save when you can cost shift?

Cost shifting from government to the private sector grew to \$7.2 billion in 1983 and is estimated at \$8.8 billion for 1984.

In effect, this is a "hidden tax," and the burden grows heavier each year.

THE BATTLE IS ON

Sadly, the entire issue of rising health costs was long neglected by the business community. But no longer. Today, corporate America is locked in battle to bring down the cost escalation of health care—and to do so without reversing the trend toward more access and more biomedical advances.

What has emerged in this struggle is a growing partnership between management, labor health providers, and private health insurers. In this relationship, employees, together with their insurance carriers, can and must play a leading role.

One widely used weapon in the war is cost containment through benefit plan design. The purpose: to eliminate excess utilization of services and motivate employees to seek care in the most cost-effective setting.

For example, deductibles on non-emergency hospital admissions will encourage greater reliance on outpatient services. Second surgical opinions can reduce the number of unnecessary operations. Hospital stays will be cut by providing benefits for diagnostic tests prior to admission.

Less costly medical care is also being promoted through coverage for confinement in extended care facilities and under home health care programs.

OTHER CONTROL MEASURES

Another tool in the arsenal is the enhanced computer technology of health insurers to review claims. This has led to greatly improved information systems and audit techniques to bring losses under control.

Control features include diligence in answering these questions: Are the charges reasonable? Is the treatment appropriate? Are duplicate payments being made to policyholders? The latter involves strict application of the coordination-of-benefits provision to avoid profiting on health insurance.

The development of programs to review appropriate use of hospital services is another vital step in the claims cost-control process. Here, too, employers and health insurers are leading the way by working with these utilization review programs toward reducing patient admissions and days of confinement.

Control of hospital capital expenditures is equally crucial. In many areas, hospital expansion cannot be justified on the basis of actual need for beds.

The key to constraints on these expenditures is health planning. Planning is a local issue in which all segments of the community should participate. This involves full support for the certificate-of-need process, whose goal is to eliminate excess services and facilities.



These days we also hear much about alternative health care systems. Health maintenance organizations instantly come to mind. HMO's use a variety of techniques and incentives to deliver cost-effective and quality care.

Currently there is a surge of interest in "preferred provider arrangements." Hospitals and doctors contract with a company, union, or health insurer to provide medical services at negotiated rates.

In addition, there is growing emphasis on ambulatory surgery—performed either in a freestanding or hospital outpatient facility—as yet another cost-saving option.

COMPETITION AND WELLNESS
All of these systems, operating in a variety of forms, embrace a philosophy every employer understands. It is the belief that competition is the true generator of change. Hence, employers—more and more, along with insurers, are urging that free-market forces be brought into play to spur competitive forces among providers.

Another rapidly unfolding development is the growing emphasis on keeping employees healthy in the first place. This need not be discussed here, because it is the subject of the article that follows by Dr. Charles Berry. Dr. Berry was long responsible for the health and fitness of our nation's astronauts.

Suffice it to say that wellness programs at the worksite are no passing fad. They are an integral part of management strategy to improve productivity and, overtime, trim the costs of doing business.

All of these initiatives, however, remain severely hampered by the continuing ability of hospitals to simply transfer unreimbursed costs to private-sector patients.

Last year Congress enacted a prospective payment law in which prices are set in advance for Medicare patients. This change in incentives is highly desirable. Any system, however, that does not apply to all patients will not produce the desired changes in hospital behavior.

Clearly, health care cost increases which affect government programs are just as onerous to employers, employees, and the community.

"FAIR PAYMENT"
Public pressure, accordingly, is building for states to adopt their own all-payer prospective pricing, or "fair payment" system. In this way, incentives are created to bring about greater economy and equity of payment for everyone without sacrificing access to quality care.

Fair payment systems are already in place in Maryland, New Jersey, New York, and Massachusetts. Four other states—Maine, West Virginia, Wisconsin, and Washington—have passed legislation enabling them to have such programs. And legislative activity to enact payment reform is under way in several other states.

Experience with these payment systems demonstrates their effectiveness in containing aggregate health care costs. Business groups should make every effort to promote fair payment legislation in every state.

The complexity of health care cost containment in its myriad forms is indeed challenging. Growing numbers of employers are buttressing individual efforts by joining together in health care coalitions. Today there are more than 125 such groups nationwide.

Predominantly a business movement, though with representation from other groups, health care coalitions share a common objective: stop the escalating cost of health care.

To this end, they are promoting all appropriate measures, with collective efforts revolving around the issues of reimbursement, utilization, capital expansion, regulation, and the stimulus of a free-market competitive influence.

Through all such activities, America's managers are observing a simple truth: only those who help shape the future are prepared to face it.

WELLNESS: A POSITIVE STRATEGY FOR A HEALTHY BUSINESS

Charles A. Berry, M.D., M.P.H.
Michael A. Berry, M.D., M.S.



Charles A. Berry, M.D., M.P.H., is president of Preventive & Aerospace Medicine Consultants in Houston, Texas. Dr. Berry is one of the nation's leading authorities in the field of health promotion and wellness at the worksite, and he is retired Medical Director of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.



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WHAT IS HAPPENING TO OUR HEALTH BENEFITS?
All over the industrialized world businesses are seeking ways to

contain skyrocketing health costs for workers. U.S. health care costs were \$286.6 billion, or 9.8% of the Gross National Product in 1981; \$322 billion and 10.5% of the GNP in 1982; and a staggering \$355 billion and 10.7% of the GNP is the estimated bill for 1983. This is in contrast to \$53.7 billion and 6.5% of the GNP in 1968. In Europe, health care costs jumped from 9.5% of the GNP in 1970, to 12.6% of the GNP in 1979. Thus, rapidly increasing health care costs are not just a U.S. problem, but the latest world epidemic.



OVER ONE MILLION AMERICAN WORKERS WILL CALL IN SICK TODAY.

In fact, more than 330 million workdays are lost each year due to health-related causes.

It's enough to make most companies sick.

Not only because of the billions of dollars it costs business every year in medical expenses and lost productivity, but in terms of employees' well-being.

One way or another, business pays for unhealthy workers.

But there is an alternative. Many forward-thinking companies are finding that a commitment to the "wellness" of their employees can pay substantial dividends.

The Metropolitan Life Foundation, a nonprofit in-

stitution, has taken a leadership role through its active involvement in the promotion of effective health and safety programs at the worksite.

The Foundation can help you plan and implement these programs in conjunction with community-based health organizations such as local Y's, Red Cross chapters, heart associations, cancer societies, lung associations, safety councils and community hospitals.

These programs are designed to eliminate the causes of most employee illness:

stress, smoking, alcoholism and drug abuse, hypertension and lack of proper nutrition. Other programs include accident prevention and defensive driving, exercise classes,

First Aid and CPR training.

We have seen such programs help reduce health care costs for all kinds of companies.

But, most importantly, these programs can help workers live happier, healthier, longer lives.

And that's one bottom line worth working for.

For more information on how you can put these programs to work, contact the Metropolitan Life Foundation, Box F, One Madison Avenue, New York, New York 10010.



**Metropolitan
Life Foundation**



Increases in health care costs for individual companies have ranged from 25% to 100% in a year. Many companies fear that unless costs are controlled, their health plans will break down. They believe that the total wages and benefits bill must be decreased and that health care costs are a logical target. Not only have company costs escalated. The average monthly health insurance payment by an individual rose 46% from 1980 to 1982.

There are other danger symptoms in the corporate "body." A recent study by Coopers & Lybrand, a major public accounting firm, found companies paying up to 25% of their total payroll in "related health costs." Costs to the company for such easily hidden or forgotten items as absenteeism, disability, turnover, decreased productivity and replacement actually equal the basic health insurance expenditures.

Xerox has calculated a \$1.5 million cost to replace a top executive. Mid-Management replacement in some insurance companies range from \$8,500 to \$15,000. A Pacific Mutual Life study puts the price of replacing a corporate executive at \$250,000-\$500,000. A good businessman can easily see the value of avoiding replacement of an executive due to a heart attack.

Almost 500 million workdays are lost annually due to illness or disability. Twenty-six million of these are due to heart disease and hypertension and 93 million to back problems.

Alcoholic employees and smokers each have twice the absenteeism of other employees. Companies searching for ways to control these costs are viewing these losses and their causes as a fertile field for action.

CORPORATE ACTIVITY

Companies are exploring and implementing a number of approaches in an effort to control rising health care costs. Frequently several are used simultaneously. Interest has centered on the following:

1. Improvements in benefit plan design to encourage cost saving incentives.
 - Some are:
 - cost sharing by patients through deductibles, co-insurance or co-payments to

assure necessity of care and reasonable price

- second opinions for non-emergency surgery; some 75% of insurance companies will pay for them
 - encouraging and reimbursing outpatient surgery for a number of procedures
 - encouraging and reimbursing for pre-admission hospital testing (X-ray, laboratory tests)
 - reimbursement for health care at home, for skilled nursing in extended care facilities, for treatment in alcohol and drug abuse centers and hospices
 - preventive outpatient care such as well-baby care and physical examinations—much more can be done by making aspects of Wellness programs eligible for reimbursement
 - full reimbursement for generic drugs versus 80% for name brands
2. Hospital utilization reviews, both internal and in cooperation with professional organizations.

3. Considering alternative medical care delivery systems such as Health Maintenance Organizations (HMO's) and newer Preferred Provider Organizations (PPO's).
4. Joining business coalitions to address common health care problems. Unfortunately while health promotion is one of the coalitions' objectives, it is far down the list and few get to it.
5. Exploring self-insurance.

WHAT IS WELLNESS?

Some call it a fad. Others say it is leading a new revolution in America—the Health Revolution! Whatever the case, Wellness is in the spotlight and likely to stay there as millions of Americans become concerned about achieving and maintaining health rather than treating disease. What is Wellness? You ask, "If I am not ill, then I must be well." Indeed not! The World Health Organization (WHO) states, "Health is a complete state of physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease."

INSURANCE INDUSTRY RESPONSE

The insurance industry has responded to the concerns of its business clients through a range of activities.

- Improved benefit plan design: a number of companies offer reduced policy charges for non-smokers and some offer them to participants in physical fitness programs. Non-smoker benefits cover casualty as well as life and health insurance
- Improved claims administration and developed new procedures for obtaining and collating claims data
- Promoted hospital payment reform, focusing education and advertising on cost shifting (the practice of hospitals transferring deficits incurred as a result of reduced Medicare and Medicaid payments onto the other patients). It also supports the concept of diagnosis related groups (DRG's) as a means of prospective payment for hospitals. (Providers, however, are concerned that this system may not provide equitable reimbursement under Medicare when complications arise.)
- Conducted public relations and advertising campaigns.
- Created an Advisory Council on Education and Health
- The HIAA and the American Council of

Life Insurance (ACL) sponsored a Life Cycle Prevention Health Service Study. It uses packages of preventive health services and counseling for different age groups. The object is to develop and test procedures for physicians to use in their daily practice which will foster prevention and track the cost of providing these services.

- In 1981 the HIAA published a study entitled, *Good Health for Employees & Reduced Health Care Costs for Industry* by Dr. Charles Berry. It is a widely used reference in the health promotion field.
- The HIAA produced a 15-minute video tape entitled, "Wellness at the Worksite—The Time Is Now." The film cites reasons for programs at the worksite and briefly reviews five company programs.
- It made smoking cessation on an industry-wide basis a major goal. To achieve it, non-smoking programs have been developed and are available to all member companies.
- In March, the HIAA sponsored a national video-teleconference stressing Wellness programs at the worksite and reduced health care costs. Invited audiences of business leaders in 25 cities heard a taped message from President Reagan and questioned a panel of health and business leaders.



Wellness could be described as a mountain riddled with deep gorges, giant boulders and dense forests that must be climbed in order to reach the sunny peak of high level Wellness, maximum longevity and enhanced quality of life. The obstacles start with the recognition of negative lifestyles, and go on to include action to reduce them, elimination of risk factors and adoption of positive lifestyles. This leads to optimum physical, mental and social functioning. In contrast, instead of ascending, one can take the easier trail and descend into the valley of illness and death. Many people are speeded along this descent by negative lifestyles, symptoms, signs, disease and disability; at the bottom, they fall into premature death.

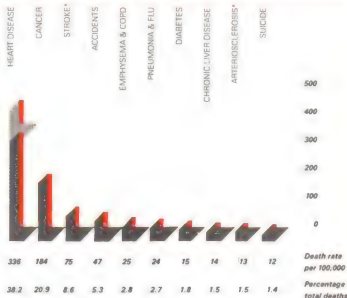
A complement to Wellness is Health Promotion. It is the process of creating awareness of health risks, influencing attitudes and identifying alternatives. The goal is to motivate people to improve their health and environment in order that they may function at their optimum level. Wellness means fostering attitudes and actions which can lead to health and, ultimately, to reduced health care costs for both employer and employee.

IDENTIFYING COMMON ILLNESSES

Where should a company focus its efforts? A common sense method is to look at the primary causes of death and disability in the general population, and then develop programs to combat the major ones. It is helpful to take an historical perspective and see how the major causes of death have changed over the last eight decades.

In 1900, the top three killers were all infectious. They were generally caused by a single entity—a bacteria or virus. In the ensuing 30-40 years, they were eliminated or reduced greatly. Public health measures and improved hygiene decreased the exposure to the bacterial or viral cause and antibiotics or vaccines killed them.

Top
Leading
Causes of
Death
in the
United
States



*Heart disease, stroke and arteriosclerosis may be considered one disease.

Today, after more than 80 years, the picture has changed dramatically (Figure 1). The infectious problems have dropped to sixth place or off the chart altogether. Cardiovascular disease, cancer and accidents have replaced them. It is also striking to note that half of all deaths in 1900 were due to three different infectious diseases, but today close to half of all deaths are from a single cause: arteriosclerosis, or "hardening and plugging" of the arteries.

RISK FACTORS

The important fact to keep in mind is that it is no longer possible to point the finger at a single causative agent such as a bacterium and cure the illness with a shot of penicillin. Today's major causes of death have multifactorial origins. These multiple causes of heart disease, stroke, cancer and accidents have been dubbed *risk factors*. Their presence does not guarantee the occurrence of the disease or accident, therefore the term *risk*. Risk factors are those characteristics found in apparently healthy persons that influence the subsequent development of disease. At present, they play a role similar to that of the viruses and bacteria in the early part of the century.

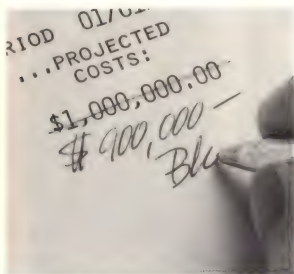
Let us look at the risk factors for the major causes of death in the U.S.: coronary artery disease, selected cancers and accidents (Table 1). Remember, these are "risk" factors, not direct causal agents. Their relationship to disease has been determined through numerous epidemiologic studies throughout this country and the world. Such evidence is circumstantial and is subject to question and interpretation.

YOU DON'T HAVE ALL THE DATA!

Frequently critics charge that there is not enough information to begin a project. Unfortunately there will always be doubters, and there never is going to be adequate data for many of them. The early days of our space program offer a good example of just such a situation. The U.S. had not yet flown man in space, but it had learned a great deal from high altitude balloon flights and rocket planes. Medical "experts" expressed learned opinions concerning the effects on man in the weightless environment of space, some predicted dire consequences. There was a great hue and cry by many, right up to the actual launching of the first manned sub-orbital flight, that it should be delayed because "all the data was not in." It was decided, however, that enough informa-

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Save 5 times what you spend on dental benefits review or don't spend a dime.

Our dental benefits program controls claim costs before there's a claim. With incentives for preventive care, consistent peer review and objective claim audits.

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Our Pre Admission Review program guarantees savings.

In fact, our track record is four dollars saved for every dollar spent on The Equitable PAR program. Our clients are finding that PAR helps reduce the number of days a patient spends in the hospital.

Our claims system is programmed to do more than just pay claims.

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If your group health program can't guarantee savings like these, write or have your benefits advisor write EVP Gil Reich at The Equitable, 1633 Broadway, Suite 1604, N.Y., N.Y. 10019. He'll help you keep the cost of health care down while keeping the quality of health care up.

No other group health program can make that claim.

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Financial Services

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TABLE 1

Risk Factors for Top Three Causes of Death

| CARDIOVASCULAR | Non Controllable |
|------------------|---|
| | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Family history of: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Heart attack by age 50 Hypertension Diabetes Gout 2. Age 3. Sex |
| | Controllable (Major) |
| | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 4. Cholesterol (LDL/HDL ratio) 5. Hypertension 6. Cigarette smoking 7. Sugar intolerance 8. Obesity |
| | Controllable (Minor) |
| | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 9. Lack of exercise 10. Stress-type A personality 11. Elevated uric acid (gout) 12. Use of oral contraceptives 13. Post menopause |
| ACCIDENTS | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Lack of use of seat belts or child restraints 2. Drinking while driving 3. Speed over 50 m.p.h. 4. Cigarette smoking 5. Chronic medical condition 6. Age-experience 7. Miles driven |
| SELECTED CANCERS | Lung |
| | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Smoking 2. Exposure to: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Asbestos, arsenic, chromate, nickel 3. Age 4. Sex 5. Air Pollution |
| | Breast |
| | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. History of breast cancer in parent 2. Multiple primary cancers 3. Age 40+ never given birth 4. First pregnancy after 30 5. Chronic fibrocystic changes 6. Obesity 7. High animal fat intake 8. More than 35 years menstrual history. Early start menstruation (before age 14). Late menopause |
| | Colon/rectal |
| | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Age > 40 2. Low fiber diet 3. History of ulcerative colitis 4. History of polyps 5. Presence adenomatous polyps 6. High animal fat diet |
| | Stomach |
| | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Excessive exposure to ultraviolet rays 2. Exposure to mines, coal tar, radioactivity 3. Fair complexion |
| | Prostate |
| | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Age > 40 2. Family history of cancer of prostate 3. High animal fat diet |
| | Cervix |
| | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Age 2. Early sexual relations (coitus) 3. Multiple sexual partners 4. Socio-economic status |

tion was available; and that first giant step was taken. The rest is history. It is probable that had the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) waited for all the data, it would still be waiting today.

The situation is the same now for risk factors and the adoption of healthy lifestyles. All of the information is not in and may never be. There is, nonetheless, impressive evidence from many sources that allows people to alter their behavior in order to achieve the most satisfactory health and performance levels.

RISK REDUCTION

Can one change or reduce their risk? The obvious answer is YES! This is where Wellness and health promotion really enter the picture. To date, employers in the U.S. have had little or no control over rising health care expenditures even though they are shouldering approximately 50% of this multi-billion dollar burden. Health promotion is one means of achieving control.

Health promotion programs are directed towards altering or lowering risk factors, that are present in the employee population. The company should determine which factors are the most prevalent before choosing Wellness programs. Most programs are interventions to change risk, and since each person is different, there must be options. Table 2 lists a variety of health promotion programs. They vary in difficulty to start-up, in the effort necessary to operate them, in equipment and money required, and in the benefit received.

It is not by accident that smoking cessation tops the list. From an overall health standpoint, successful smoking cessation programs should have the greatest benefit because they would have salutary effects on the rate of coronary heart disease, cancer of the lung, mouth and throat, emphysema and even accidents.

COMPANY PROGRAMS

In 1970 relatively few U.S. companies offered any type of health promotion or disease prevention program. Today approximately 50% of the largest corporations have some portion of a Wellness program. Most of them have been started in the last ten years. Companies with medical departments or health and safety operations already had some of the elements in place.

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218
231 ♦



IT'S DEPRESSING HOW MANY PEOPLE IN HOSPITALS AREN'T SICK.

No one can argue that many people's lives depend on the high-quality care they receive in hospitals.

But the fact is, more than 15% of the days people are confined to hospitals are unnecessary.

Which could cost American business \$9 billion in health care costs before the year is out.

Of course, there are alternatives.

Many medical procedures, including diagnostic tests, can be done more efficiently in outpatient facilities.

And many common treatments, including bed rest, can be done in less expensive beds. Preferably a patient's own.

At The Travelers, we design plans to cover these alternatives.

But we're not content with conventional methods alone for controlling health care costs.

We have a solution that no one else can offer. It's called the Center for Corporate Health Promotion.

The Center is devoted to educating people on how to adopt healthier lifestyles.

And how to make more informed decisions about their use of medical services.

In the hope that someday the only people in hospitals will be people sick enough to be in them.

TheTravelers[®]

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TABLE 2

**Health
Promotion
Programs**

| | | |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Smoking Cessation | Alcohol/Drug Abuse Control | Wise Use of Medical Benefits |
| Nutrition | Heart Attack Risk Reduction | Low-Back Pain Prevention |
| Hypertension Recognition and Control | Cancer Risk Reduction | Immunization |
| Weight Control | Self-Care | Prevention of Dental Disease |
| Exercise/Fitness | Emergency Medicine | Pain/Injury Prevention |
| Stress Management | Accident Risk Reduction | Resuscitation (CPR) |
| Reactive/Depression | Cardio-Pulmonary | Herniah/Maneuver (Choking) |
| Employee Assistance Programs | Resuscitation (CPR) | Social Disease/Sickle Cell Anemia |

It is important to understand that it is wrong, ethically and programmatically, to do any sort of screening without offering the individuals a way to reduce the risk factors after they are identified. Companies must be prepared to take a comprehensive approach; happily that seems to be the trend.

The biggest programs, such as those at IBM, Johnson & Johnson, Control Data, Kimberly-Clark and Campbell Soup, are multifaceted. Some are even being sold to other companies.

Large fitness facilities are the heart of many programs. A current study reports that about 275 corporations have in-house fitness programs and that more are on the way. But, it is not necessary to be large or to have a gym, in order to develop an adequate Wellness program. Some companies have assisted their employees with membership in a local health club. Others, like Hospital Corporation of America, Bonnie Bell and General Mills, give financial and material incentives for fitness activity. Even smaller companies such as Scherer Bros. Lumber in Minneapolis and three small Burlington Industries weaving mills in North Carolina have established Wellness programs. An enterprising group of companies in Omaha, Nebraska, have joined together to form the Wellness Council of the Midlands.

The range of programs is as great as are the ways of carrying them out. Some are developed and operated in-house; others are contracted; and still others are combinations of several methods. Remember that there are many places near home to exercise. The possibilities include: the parks, YMCAs, jogging in the streets, or using whatever else is available. In fact, New York Telephone closed its central fitness facility and encouraged employee participation in homesite exercise plans.

In addition to fitness, the most common programs are those relating to nutrition, weight control, smoking cessation, stress management (including such stress-reducing techniques as bio-feedback training, meditation and yoga), medical-self-care and employee assistance programs.

COST SAVINGS

It is difficult to obtain accurate information on cost savings for Wellness programs for a variety of reasons. Many of the programs were not planned in a way that allows easy evaluation. There is no base-line data in many instances. Wide variations exist in cost analysis procedures. For instance, companies with medical departments often do not assign the cost of screening employees, even for expensive cardiac stress testing. The reasoning is that the medical department is being paid anyway. While there is some validity to this view, strict cost accounting demands assigning and comparing honestly the time devoted to a particular project.

Cost benefit determinations are difficult to make because of non-existent or mixed health data bases in the corporation, inequities in assigning dollar values to health behavior changes and the problem of relating a specific health result to a specific health promotion program. It may be unnecessary to break down the figures precisely but many analysts prefer it.

The most important thing for a company starting a Wellness program to do, is to collect the information discussed further on and to determine costs for such items as replacement of an individual, a lost day and a heart attack. The \$600 cost savings quoted for one person stopping smoking and the savings for other lifestyle changes are probably conservative.

Some companies estimate their cost savings in order to project the effect of a particular behavioral change, such as smoking cessation, on cardiovascular disease, chronic respiratory disease and cancer. Certainly such projections are not totally accurate and only time will tell the correct results.

There is another problem in the way that many program results are reported. This stems from the desire to have a preview of the programs' accomplishments. Thus, we find reports with general statements such as "49% reduction in lost work hours" or "29% decrease in disability costs" without corresponding dollar savings. The critics forget several important points. One, the company instituting a Wellness program is making a strong statement about concern for the employee whether or not the program succeeds. Two, even small, positive results are better than the present continuing cost escalation. Three, there is no one definition of success for Wellness programs because they are created for varying reasons.

PROGRAM EVALUATION

Why is it difficult to evaluate worksite Wellness programs?

1. The expense. Most companies prefer to spend their money conducting programs rather than on research.
2. The company did not establish goals before starting its program.
3. Obtaining necessary data is difficult. Complete medical or dental utilization, especially for specific individuals, absenteeism and sick leave data are not recorded on a daily basis. (There are some questions concerning the value of sick leave data in determining the health status of the company).
4. Control groups are difficult to obtain, because employers cannot deny access to risk intervention programs to anyone for experimental purposes. Finding informed individuals who would choose to serve as controls is even more difficult.

A COMPANY STUDY

Control Data, a computer and financial services company in Minneapolis, invested in scientifically valid research on its Wellness program. Entitled "Stay Well," the program was initiated in 1979 and made available to 22,000 employees and



their spouses as a free benefit. The average participation rate at various offices ranged from 65% to 95%. The program consists of a health screen, a risk factor profile with explanation, an overview of lifestyle and health, and then access to smoking cessation, stress management, weight control, nutrition and fitness courses.

The evaluation involved surveying a 10% sample of 5,000 domestic employees. A control group was drawn from offices without the program. The survey asked about lifestyle. Results thus far: exercisers had a 36% decrease in health care costs and a substantial decrease in hospital stays. Their average claim costs were \$321.01 and 0.37 hospital days, while non-exercisers' claim costs were \$436.92 with 0.57 hospital days. Overweight participants tipped the scales with higher health care costs and more hospital stays. Smoking cessation programs had a 33.3% success rate at the end of one year; another 43.5% smoked less than at the beginning of the course. Smokers had 25% greater health care costs and they were hospitalized twice as often as the non-smokers. In general, those with higher risk factors were 86% more likely to miss work days and 100% more likely to complete less work when they were there. There are no figures comparing the cost of the program with the money saved.

OTHER COMPANY RESULTS

Even though most companies have not compiled detailed statistics, many have collected enough data to give a clear picture of their programs' worth.

Vulmont Industries, a heavy metal fabricator in Omaha, Nebraska, enrolled 55% of its approximately 1200 employees in one or more Wellness programs dealing with blood pressure control, smoking cessation, physical fitness and safety awareness. Table 3 shows the drop in the company's rising medical and dental costs in the year the programs were started.

The Prudential Insurance Company conducted a five-year study from 1977 to 1981, at its regional office in Houston, Texas. Most of the employees held sedentary desk jobs. The majority of them were between 20 and 39 years of age and 81% were female. At the start of the study, volunteers took submaximal treadmill exercise tests to estimate their maximum oxygen uptake. Their percent of body fat was measured by skinfolds and a set of blood chemistries was obtained and exercise was prescribed. The participants had access to a fine fitness facility at Prudential as well as to others near their homes.

In the year before the program started, the average major medical cost per participant was \$573.74, compared to \$311.59 (in 1980 dollars) at the end of one year. This represents a 45.7% reduction in major medical costs. The average number of disability days dropped 20.1% and direct disability costs fell 31.7% in the first year. The average combined savings per participant was \$353.38 and the average operational cost was \$120.60. Even with only a 19.1% participation rate, a savings of \$1.93 was realized for each \$1 invested in the program.

New York Telephone estimated that it saved \$2,700,000 in health care costs from nine health promotion programs ranging from smoking cessation to "healthy back" courses available to its 80,000 employees. A set of assumptions and also epidemiological study data from other sources was used to project these savings on absence and treatment costs in a year. The greatest savings were from smoking cessation and the resultant effects on heart and lung disease.

Companies reporting reduced absenteeism as a result of fitness programs include: Occidental Life Insurance Company; Northern Natural Gas, GTE, Safeway and Canada Life Assurance. iCanada Life Assurance also found the participants had 1/10th the turnover of the non-participants and were more alert, enjoyed their work more, and had better rapport with co-workers and management!

General Telephone of Florida reported decreased health care costs and the reduction of stress symptoms in 74% of their executives after instituting a fitness program.

Finally, in a recent study some 1,500 employers who conducted four or more health promotion programs in-house reduced the average health care cost per person by \$209.

EMPLOYEE ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS (EAP)

At least 10% of all employees have serious personal problems and lose significant productivity as a result. Employee assistance programs offer help and yield rehabilitation rates of nearly 80%. These programs are generally inexpensive. Small in-house staffs or contract staffs of psychiatric social workers or other counselors direct employees to proper help. Confidentiality must be assured if the program is to succeed. Cost savings reported for a number of these programs range as high as \$1-\$2 million annually.

In addition, Kimberly-Clark has shown a 70% decrease in on-the-job accidents among EAP participants. General Motors made an EAP program available to 44,000 employees scattered at some 130 locations. In the first year the company observed a 40% decrease in lost time, 60% decrease in sickness and accident benefits, a 50% decrease in grievances and a 50% decrease in on-the-job accidents. Obviously, dollar figures can be applied to these improvements. The returns on a dollar invested in an EAP program have varied from \$3-\$7 to \$1.

MANAGEMENT'S VIEW

Executives who have adopted Wellness programs often find hidden benefits. James L. Ketelsen, chairman and chief executive officer of Tenneco, says the corporation opted for Wellness "in order to do something "positive" for the employees and to decrease the money it spent on illness. Today, several years after instituting what has become the "Cadillac" of corporate Wellness programs, he says that it has far exceeded early expectations. It has become an excellent recruiting tool, as well as an aid in retaining employees, it also boosts morale and enhances the employees' perceptions of the company.



James E. Burke, chairman and chief executive officer of Johnson & Johnson, commented along the same lines about the company's Wellness program. "Live for Life." Johnson & Johnson anticipated that Wellness programs would decrease health care costs although it had no proof. Not only have they achieved the predicted cost savings, the programs also have created a great "sense of community" among both the employees and the company and its employees.

STEPS TO BECOMING A "HEALTHY" COMPANY

Where does one start? Begin with a *health audit* to assess the company's needs. This entails a close look at past experience in areas such as insurance claims and hospitalizations, disability and absenteeism. Important questions to ask are: what are the company's cost containment requirements? Is the company primarily dedicated to the well-being of its employees and dependents or are cost benefits more important? How rapidly do visible results need to be seen? What level of employee visibility is desired? Some programs reach greater numbers than others. These are all important questions.

Assess employee needs. What is the range of ages and the average age of the employees? Are females or males predominant? What do the employees see as their needs or problems? *Baseline data* should be collected on the employee group. This can be as simple or as elaborate as the company desires.

What is the level of management commitment? All of the successful programs reported have firm and visible support from the top. This is essential. Of almost equal importance is holding *awareness* and *motivation* sessions for all participants before programs or classes are initiated. The employees must understand why the programs are important to their health and what they can expect to achieve. It is generally better to use outside speakers for these sessions as employees are more likely to accept the advice of experts than of familiar in-house personnel. The surrounding community should be examined for sources of information, existing classes and expert consultants.

Valiant Industries

Heavy metal fabricator located in Omaha, Nebraska

1,400 total employees—at least 90% annual enrollment in medical plan

1,200 employees with access to Wellness programs — 55 percent enrolled in one or more of the following programs initiated in Jan. '82

Health Awareness, Blood Pressure Screen & Control, Smoking Cessation, Physical Fitness, Safety Awareness

| YEAR | MEDICAL/DENTAL COST | PERCENT CHANGE FROM PREV. YEAR | COMPANY COST PER COVERED EMPLOYEE | PERCENT CHANGE FROM PREV. YEAR |
|------|---------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1979 | \$ 895,000 | — % | \$ 728 | — % |
| 1980 | 1,267,000 | -41.6 | 916 | -25.8 |
| 1981 | 1,821,000 | -43.7 | 1,230 | -34.3 |
| 1982 | 1,876,600 | -3.1 | 1,280 | -4.1 |
| 1983 | 1,698,620 | 9.4 | 1,248 | 2.5 |

1983 Medical/Dental cost reduction — \$176,780, or 12.5% decrease from projected cost.

SMOKING CESSATION

122 Smokers enrolled—67 still *not* smoking at 9 months
 Cost Savings \$7 — \$600 = \$40,200
 Cost of Program = 10,000
 Net Savings \$30,200

To establish employee needs and baseline data, *screen the workforce* to determine the presence and absence of risk factors. If it is predominately female and under 30 with a 5% smoker rate, smoking cessation or cardiovascular risk reduction would not be the wisest investment of time or money. General fitness and nutrition might be better. Programs work best when based upon both employee needs and desires. Once the programs are in place, *evaluate them* for effectiveness at intervals.

You should now have a functioning, viable Wellness program, if chosen wisely it will benefit you quickly with increased employee moral and productivity and, in time, with decreased health care costs.

CONCLUSION: NEW ROLES ON SPACESHIP EARTH

Rapidly escalating sick care costs compel any company desirous of maintaining its own health to review its strategies and attack the rising costs. A number of company actions may have some impact (encouraging outpatient procedures, utilization reviews), but Wellness programs at the worksite offer the best prescription. Making Wellness a part of the company's lifestyle creates or enhances a sense of company community while helping each individual to reach an optimum performance level. A Wellness program also will

reduce both the major medical and the hidden costs now being paid for sick care. Wellness programs are common sense but it is necessary to demand credibility. Employers do not need long-term clinical trials of 10-20 year epidemiological studies. All it takes to make it happen is a commitment, both corporate and individual.

Insurers must be willing to help and even to take some risk, such as offering lower rates to companies trying to be healthy. They should remove the barriers to coverage for health promotion. If they do not, more self-insurance will be seen. Working together, we can have healthier, more productive companies, nations and Spaceship Earth.

BEFORE YOU BUY INSURANCE, EXAMINE THE EVIDENCE.

An agent who works for one company can only offer you the policies that his company sells.

An Independent Insurance Agent represents several companies. So your Independent Agent can help you select the right coverage at the right price because there are more policies from which to choose. The evidence is clear.

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INSURANCE AGENT.**

You'll find the Independent Insurance Agent nearest you in the Yellow Pages.



Getting Steve Lewis home hours after surgery: That's AMI caring.



Steve Lewis had been putting off surgery for years. There just wasn't time. And the thought of spending three days in a hospital bed was a little unnerving. But then Steve heard about Single Day Surgery.



Single Day Surgery is the new concept that lets you have your surgery in the morning and be home the same afternoon. Your operation is performed in a specially designed surgery center—a modern medical facility with a comfortable, relaxing atmosphere. And there's no overnight stay; you recover in the comfort of your own home.

Steve Lewis checked into the surgery center on Friday before noon, had his operation and was home by four that afternoon. And with the weekend

to rest, he was back at work Monday morning.

Today, nearly forty percent of all surgery can be performed as Single Day Surgery. Everything from routine tonsillectomies to delicate laser eye surgery. At a cost savings of up to thirty-five percent over conventional surgery.

Single Day Surgery is a service of AMI, American Medical International. We operate hospitals and health care facilities serving 500 communities on five continents. We offer Single Day Surgery in our free-standing surgery centers, as well as in our hospitals.

We think we've succeeded in the health care business because we believe health care is more than just caring for people, it's caring *about* people.

That means understanding a community's needs and being responsive with whatever it takes. Whether it's establishing Single Day Surgery facilities. Or building a center for early detection of breast cancer. Or taking mobile CT scanners to people in rural Vermont.

That's what caring means at AMI.

If you'd like to know more about how AMI caring is answering today's health care problems, write AMI Communications Department, 414 North Camden Drive, Beverly Hills, California 90210.



Member of the American Medical Association
and the American Hospital Association

Letters

D-Day Memory

To the Editors:

As an infantryman who fought in Normandy, I was struck by the beautiful truth in your retelling of D-day [D-Day, May 28]. You gave credit where credit was due, to General Dwight Eisenhower and the other officers, but you also told of the heroics and failures of the ordinary soldiers. They are the men who win or lose wars.

Tom Ward
Chicago



I was in Italy at the time of the Normandy landings and cheered the invasion news. Years after, a good friend of mine who was with the first wave on Omaha Beach told me, "I was seasick, cold and scared, to the point that I wanted to lie there and die. Then I got mad, not at the Germans but at my superiors for creating such a hopeless situation." This attitude prevailed in the enlisted ranks and was a key to moving the troops forward.

Jim Bell
Fremont, Calif.

I was with an airborne unit that jumped early on that unforgettable morning in June. I hope all the hawks and warmongers read your fine story. Maybe it will deter another encounter.

Alfred K. McHaney
Kingston, Okla.

Without doubt, D-day was "the beginning of the end," not just of Hitler and World War II but of a naive way of life we once enjoyed. From that day on we were part of an uncertain and unstable future dominated by two new superpowers and were witnesses to the blossoming, often violent, of the Third World.

Paul F. Emery
Brownsburg, Ind.

Before we lose ourselves in an orgy of self-congratulation over the Normandy invasion, we should recall that in 1944 we were allied with the Soviet Union. It is so-



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Letters

bering to reflect on what might have happened on the beaches of France had the cream of Germany's armed forces not been destroyed by the Soviets at Stalingrad in 1942 and at Kursk in 1943. The beginning of the end for Hitler started much earlier than D-day, and it started in the Soviet Union, not France.

David McKibbin
Lincoln, Neb.

Would we ally ourselves today with the Soviet Union to fight a right-wing dictator? We now support oppressors like Augusto Pinochet in Chile as long as they are anti-Soviet. If this were prewar 1938, we would be looking for a similar deal with Hitler.

Alan MacRobert
Watertown, Mass.

It is the loss of mutual resolve among nations that is such a tragedy. Perhaps this sense of purpose is still present under all the rhetoric and vicious attacks that go on among those countries that once stood together against Nazism.

Beatrice Wilding
Chicago

You have presented another snide, patronizing reference to the minimal part played by Britain and the other Allies in the Normandy landings. I was beginning to think that the U.S. had grown up and was no longer a braggart. How sad to find that you still need to hog the glory.

Peter Bishop
Harrow, England

I am not convinced that, as you would have us believe, 40 years have erased distorted perceptions of the enemy. You present the killing of nearly 40 Allied prisoners by an SS panzer division as an atrocity, while the exploits of an American staff sergeant who killed 91 Germans, 15 of whom were eating breakfast, are portrayed as a heroic adventure.

Vernon R. Padgett
Huntington, W. Va.

I was born 14 years after D-day. My father told me stories about his Army stint, which included only the barest facts about the landing on Omaha Beach. He never mentioned the horrors. Now, two years after his death, I am proud to know, thanks to your story, that my father and his buddies were all heroes that day.

Kathryn Orndorf-Tauber
Harrison City, Pa.

I am 17 years old and German. When I read of the two 17-year-old Germans who had bicycled for three weeks to get to the front line and were then taken prisoner, a deep sadness came over me. I realized that if I had lived 40 years ago, it could have been me. How can my generation be assured that the horrors of World War II will never happen again, when half the world lives under a totalitarian



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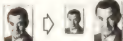
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Letters

ideology and the U.S. is drawn closer and closer to a conflict with the supporters of these doctrines in Central America?

*Ulf Morys
Kent, Wash.*

I was a child of seven living in the south of England in 1944. Your article brought back memories of truckloads of smiling G.I.s who gave us precious bars of chocolate as well as our first taste of chewing gum. America's sacrifice will be remembered and its G.I.s never forgotten.

*Clare Howard
Worthing, England*

You say, "The morals of sacrifice, so clear then, are more confusing now." This statement reminds me how we have advanced in the technology of annihilation. Engaging in battles, once thought glorious, is now considered an obscenity. I am reminded of the words of an old hymn, "Time makes ancient good uncouth."

*(The Rev.) Vernon A. Victorsen
Our Saviour Lutheran Church
Utica, N. Y.*

Who will be left to remember the next D-day?

*Ernest L. Hughes
Seattle*

Philippines Ballot

The results of the Philippines election [WORLD, May 28] were a reflection of the sentiments of our people: a triumph for the democratic process and ideals. By dying for his country, Ninoy Aquino accomplished what he might not have been able to do while alive.

*Teresito P. Ocampo
Manila*

Somebody should remind President Ferdinand Marcos of this quote from Cato the Elder: "I would rather have men ask, after I am dead, why I have no monument than ask why I have one."

*Anthony Rosales
Cebu City, Philippines*

It has taken the U.S. 18 years to discover what most Filipinos know: the Marcos dictatorship is filled with cruelties. Without American assistance, the government would have fallen long ago. America's belated awakening to Marcos' tyranny is a poignant testimony to the insensitivity that underlies American policy in this region.

*Bernard Fong
Hong Kong*

Peripatetic Conductors

Your article "Round and Round They Go" [MUSIC, May 28] notes that conductors are doubling up their positions because there are not enough maestros to go around. At the same time, the executive directors of symphony companies say

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Entering the "Mazda Family Photo Contest '85" couldn't be easier. All you have to do is send a photo of your family or friends enjoying an outing with the family Mazda! Anyone can enter as long as the photo reflects the theme "Having Fun With Mazda Cars and Trucks." Contest rules are more fully explained in the column below.

20 winners will be selected from around the world. Their winning photos will be featured in Mazda's 1985 Calendar, and each will receive US\$3,000.00 in prize money. And that's a very good reason to smile indeed.

APPLICATION RULES

Sponsor

Mazda Motor Corporation
3-1, Shitoh, Fuchu-cho, Aki-gun, Hiroshima, Japan

Theme of the Contest

"Having Fun With Mazda Cars and Trucks"
Only entries relevant to this theme will be eligible. Entries will be judged on their basis along with originality, composition and photographic technique. Entries may be used in Mazda's 1985 Calendar to be distributed world-wide.

Eligibility

Applicants of any nationality or age are eligible except as otherwise stipulated below. Application is restricted to those who actually took the entered photo. Neither purchase nor ownership of a Mazda vehicle is necessary to enter. Both professional and amateur photographers are invited to enter. This offer is void where prohibited by law or objection of national custom. All entries from such countries will be disqualified.

Application Period

Entries must be received between June 1, 1984 and August 31, 1984.

Application Method

The photos must be in the form of 35mm (135mm) colour slides, each identified with the entrant's name. Using either the entry form provided at your nearest Mazda dealer or regular dealer, complete and mail the following 10 items in English: 1. name & address 3. age & sex 5. nationality & occupation 7. telephone number 8. date of photo shooting 9. location of photo shooting 10. the names of everyone shown in the photo. Be sure to sign your name and mail the application with the photo entries.

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Mazda Family Photo Contest
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Announcement of Winners

The winners will be announced in the November 18, 1984 issue of Time magazine world-wide edition.

Other Application Rules and Conditions

- All winners will be notified by mail.
- Contestants may enter as many photos as they wish, however all entries become the property of Mazda Motor Corporation and cannot be returned.
- All photos must be original—they must not have been previously published or used for any purpose showing further the photos must not be subject to any legal questions or claims, it is the responsibility of the contestant to ensure that the publication of the photos by Mazda Motor Corporation causes no claims, it is further the responsibility of the contestant to obtain all necessary consent of persons appearing in, or any other concerned persons in, the entered photos prior to entry.
- There are no restrictions with regard to shooting date.
- The winners will be selected by the Mazda Family Photo Contest '85 Committee, a panel of outstanding individuals, in their respective fields whose decisions are final on all matters relating to this contest.
- All entries become the property of Mazda Motor Corporation along with all rights, including the right to edit, publish and use any other without further consent or payment to the entrant(s). All prize winners authorize Mazda Motor Corporation to use their names and likeness for any advertising and promotional purposes.
- Prizes are not transferable or exchangeable. Only one prize will be awarded per household.
- Should any entry be found to violate either these application rules or any domestic or foreign laws, including the copyright laws, the contestant or their customs-related or negligent dealer, such photo may

be disqualified even if it has been selected as a winner.

Further, the sponsor assumes responsibility for any claims or damages resulting from such violations.

- Upon selection, winners shall be requested to sign an official consent form along with all other concerned persons surrendering all rights in the entered photo to Mazda Motor Corporation. This form will be provided by the sponsor should the winners fail to submit such signed consent to the sponsor within 20 days of receiving the form. A will be assumed they have abandoned the privilege and alternative winners will be selected.
- Mazda Motor Corporation shall not be held responsible for any loss, damage, loss, delivery, wrong delivery or other accidents in the mailing of the photos.
- Mazda Motor Corporation shall not be obligated to use the contest photos, including the award-winning entries, for its calendar or any other purposes.
- Taxes and other payments imposed on the receipt of the prize money including any withholding tax due to be deducted from the prize money by the sponsor in Japan shall be paid by the winners, and the payment to the winners shall be made after deducting any withholding tax imposed on the prize money in Japan.
- Prize money will be awarded in the local currency of the winner, which may vary due to fluctuating currency rates.



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Letters

they want their conductors to be "magicians capable of performing mysterious acts with an orchestra." If that is what they desire, then these directors ought to find a talented younger conductor who has the will and integrity to risk being unpopular with the musicians. Give this leader the authority over all artistic decisions. The Cleveland Orchestra did this with George Szell, and the result was one of the grand epochs in musical history. The prescription is excellence rather than expediency.

David J. Stiller
Costa Mesa, Calif.

There are plenty of U.S. conductors who can direct a major orchestra. To think that Beethoven and Bartok sound better because the maestro is European harks back to 1900, when this country had a cultural inferiority complex. Those who know judge by what they hear, not by the big name who leads the musicians.

Paul B. Schmid
Mansfield, Ohio

Victory of Sorts

Your article on *Bose Corp. vs. Consumers Union* [PRESS, May 14] omitted the fact that although Bose lost the case, it won a moral victory. The Supreme Court said the engineer who disparaged the Bose 901 loudspeaker "had made a mistake and when confronted with it, he refused to admit it and steadfastly attempted to maintain that no mistake had been made—that the inaccurate was accurate."

Charles Hieken
Counsel for Bose Corp.
Boston

Shiny Pate

Your report on treating baldness [MEDICINE, May 28] reminded me of an old saying: "God only made a few perfect heads. The rest he put hair on." My husband has a perfect head, and I would not want him to change for the world.

Eltzabeth F. Ginosky
Rochester

As a dermatologist, I have found that much more than vanity motivates individuals to undergo hair transplants. I commissioned an independent survey of my patients, which showed that those having transplants believe that appearance has an effect on their careers. As a result of hair restoration, people feel more self-confident, more comfortable in social situations and better able to compete with younger business colleagues.

Manuel O. Jaffe, M.D.
Minneapolis

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THE CONSERVATION FUELS

How coal and uranium save oil



To reduce our dependence on oil, Americans are using more electricity, and our utilities are using more coal and uranium to generate it. These secure, domestic fuels help conserve oil, so we depend less on unreliable imports, we send less money overseas, and we can use our existing oil and gas where they're really needed.

When people see lower oil prices and hear about an "oil glut," conserving oil doesn't seem so important.

But the recession that spurred the oil glut—by putting energy-intensive industries into decline and turning consumers into conservers—has gone away. Our economy is recovering.

As the American economy grows, we will be using more and more electricity. America's use of electricity has historically grown hand in hand with our GNP. We need enough electricity

to sustain a healthy economy. But we need to conserve oil, too. Here's how we can do both.

Why we still need to conserve oil

Conserving oil is still critically important for several reasons:

- With the continuing conflicts in the Persian Gulf area, another oil disruption is a real possibility.
- We now import approximately 25 percent of our oil at a cost of about \$60 billion a year, and our imports are growing again, increasing our trade deficit and our vulnerability to foreign suppliers.
- The U.S. Geological Survey estimates that even with new discoveries, our nation's oil resources will be depleted in 36 years, at current production levels.
- Economic recovery worldwide will

trigger increased oil importing by other countries. Greater demand could push prices up again.

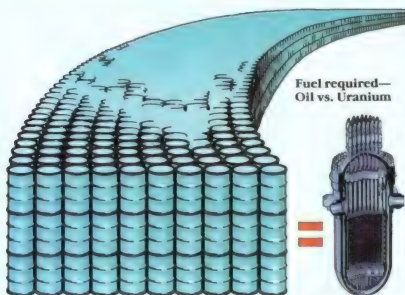
- Our existing oil and gas supplies need to be preserved for more essential uses: oil for transportation and petrochemicals; gas for home heating and certain industrial applications.

The government recognized the value of oil and gas years ago and passed the 1978 Fuel Use Act, restricting the construction of any major new oil- or gas-fired electricity plants.

Electricity: a conservation tool

Electricity is often more efficient than the direct burning of oil or gas, and many industries have switched increasingly to electricity to improve productivity.

This has made electricity an integral part of our growing economy.



Fuel required—
Oil vs. Uranium

A 1,000-megawatt nuclear electricity plant can be fueled for three years by one uranium fuel core. A similar-size oil-fired plant would require 30,000,000 barrels of oil.

But since oil is no longer a wise choice for electricity generation, what sources can we count on for a secure, dependable supply?

Coal and uranium: the conservation fuels

Over the past decade, while America's electricity consumption increased over 25 percent, our electric utilities reduced their use of oil by over 55 percent.

They've done this by using more coal and uranium-fueled nuclear

presently operating and under construction.

The conservation potential of uranium is truly remarkable. A 1,000-megawatt nuclear power plant can be fueled for three years by one uranium fuel core. A similar-size oil-fired plant would require 30 million barrels of oil.

The cost-savings of nuclear power

The average cost of electricity from the 80 operating nuclear plants in

has saved electric ratepayers an estimated \$40 billion, and continues to save ratepayers \$4-\$6 billion each year.

The reason for the savings is the low cost of the uranium fuel. Even though a nuclear plant costs more to build, over the 30- to 40-year lifetime of the plant the lower fuel costs can result in savings when compared with the cost of oil-generated electricity.

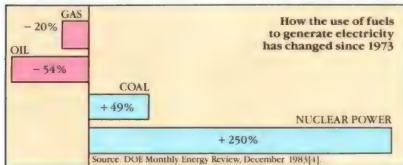
Nuclear plants are also environmentally clean. And they have one of the best safety records of any major industrial enterprise.

America needs a balanced energy mix

Although we have plenty of coal, it is risky to become too dependent on any one source. And there are very few alternative sources that can make a major contribution to our national electricity needs. We need uranium as well as coal in our energy mix.

While speaking before the National Committee of the World Energy Conference (February 8, 1984), U.S. Secretary of Energy Donald Hodel said that nuclear power is "an imperative, not an option, for assuring reliable and adequate electricity supply in the United States and the rest of the world."

With uranium and coal, we can significantly reduce our dependence on foreign oil and still have the electric capacity we need for a healthy, growing economy.



power. Today, about two-thirds of our electricity comes from these two fuels.

America's coal and uranium reserves offer economy and security. We have 240 billion tons of recoverable coal reserves—enough to last hundreds of years. We also have a secure, domestic supply of uranium, far more than needed for the lifetimes of all the nuclear plants

the U.S. is less than half the cost of electricity from oil-burning power plants. Since 1974, nuclear power

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Triumphant candidate with Wife Joan, right, and Sons William, far left, and Ted, far right, at election-night party in St. Paul

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TIME/JUNE 18, 1984

COVER STORIES

Over the Top, Barely

Claiming victory, Mondale tries to unify the Democrats



For weeks Walter Mondale had predicted with facetious precision that he would acquire the magic number of 1,967 delegates needed to pin down the Democratic presidential nomination

at 11:59 a.m. on the day after Super Tuesday III—the final day of one of the most grueling, frenetic and unpredictable primary seasons ever. Now on election eve Mondale's campaign plane was over California, nearing the end of a 25-hour, 5,620-mile coast-to-coast blitz. The candidate had been in fine fettle, rousing partisan audiences in New Jersey, West Virginia and New Mexico. He seemed somehow to be thriving on the hectic pace and its near sleepless nights. Finally confident that the elusive goal was at hand, the Minnesotan's staff broke out bottles and let spirits soar. The former Vice President gleefully awarded T-shirts imprinted with I SURVIVED AIR MONDALE to those who had made the trip, and read a "wimp list" of correspondents who had begged off doing so. His aides led weary reporters in a stir-crazy version of the *Wabash Cannon Ball*:

From the Bond Court to the Fairmont, the hotels have been great.

A different bed each evening in a different state.

Our sex lives are terrific, celibacy is fine.

We're in a flying convent. Flight 11:59.

Waiting out election results in his home state, Mondale heard nothing to shake his buoyant mood. His persistent foe Gary Hart was carrying South Dakota and New Mexico, as expected, but few delegates were at stake. Mondale was sweeping West Virginia. The news from New Jersey was dazzling. A hefty 107 delegates were the prize, and Mondale, capitalizing on the state's district election system, seemed to be taking an amazing 103 of them to Hart's none and Jesse Jackson's four. The voting booths had not closed in California, with its enticing lode of 306 delegates, but early exit polls indicated a tight race. Arriving at a victory party in St. Paul's Radisson Plaza Hotel, Mondale reached out to his Democratic rivals and their backers: "I want your support," he said, "and I intend to earn it."

After delivering a Satchel Paige warning to Ronald Reagan, "Don't look back, somebody's gaining on you," the contented Mondale ordered a batch of cheeseburgers, celebrated with friends in his 17th-floor suite and drifted off into a long-awaited deep sleep at midnight.

But for Mondale's aides, the euphoria gave way almost immediately to a bout of Hart-induced nightmares. Back in February, the Colorado Senator's stunning upset in the New Hampshire primary (he had risen from a mere 3% following among Democrats nationally just a month earlier) shattered the notion that an invincible Mondale machine would crush all opposition early. After a string of Hart wins in New England, Mondale had doggedly fought his way back with victories in Alabama and Georgia on Super Tuesday I. Then he seized Illinois, New York and Pennsylvania, setting up another knockout chance on Super Tuesday II. Yet the equally dogged Hart had jolted pollsters once more, winning in Ohio and Indiana. Early on Wednesday morning, Mondale's strategists found the reports from California turning sour. Would their man be stymied short of a delegate majority after all?

At 3 a.m. Mondale Campaign Coordinator Tom Donilon was awakened by one of the staff's delegate counters. The news from California was dismaying: Hart was headed for a remarkable victory in the state. In the end Hart won 32 of California's 45 congressional districts, Mondale only nine, Jackson four. That translated into a nearly 3-to-1 Hart victory over Mondale in delegates: 205 to 72 (Jackson got 29). Donilon relayed the discouraging report to Campaign Chairman James Johnson and Adviser John Reilly. The acute problem was to avoid the debacle of Mondale having to confess at his 11:59 a.m. press conference that despite his boastful prediction, he did not have the needed 1,967 delegates after all.

At 7:30 a.m. aides began contacting uncommitted delegates, mostly elected Democratic officials and regional party leaders, to ask them to stand by for a call from Mondale. The candidate, refreshed and outwardly unshaken by the reports from California, turned on his powers of persuasion. He made some 50 telephone calls, reaching such party luminaries as Atlanta Mayor Andrew Young, New Jersey Senator Frank Lautenberg and Alabama Governor George Wallace. The unstated threat: Mondale was certain to win, and late arrivals on the bandwagon were less likely to be remembered favorably by the candidate. About 40 recipients of the Mondale message took it seriously enough to join him.

That, by the reckoning of Mondale's aides, put their boss over the top. He had gone into the final day of primaries just 225 short of a convention delegate majority. He had picked up a respectable 201 delegates on the last day, with New Jersey's wipeout of Hart partly offsetting the California defeat. The time difference from the Pacific Coast had blunted the impact of California. Most TV viewers had gone to bed, like Mondale, with the expectation that the nomination fight was over. In much of the U.S., the next day's morning newspapers conveyed the same impression. Mondale was determined to keep that idea alive.

As reporters, cameramen and his aides counted off the seconds ("nine, eight, seven"), Mondale strode to the microphones in the Radisson Plaza at 11:59 a.m. on the dot and declared, "Today, I am pleased to claim victory. . . . I am the nominee. I've got



Festive and buoyant on the stump in West Virginia

the votes." He cited a precise number of delegates behind him: 2,008. Mondale pledged to work for "a unified convention," saying that he would make personal appeals to both Hart and Jackson to join him in that effort. He conceded under questioning that the friction among the candidates had been great, but he tried to down-play it. "Our Democratic Party is a family," he said, "and as families sometimes do, we squabble. But our bonds are stronger than our battles."

Most independent counters agreed that Mondale had achieved a majority. The U.P.I. tally, generally considered the most reliable, placed Mondale's strength on Wednesday at 1,969, two delegates more than needed. Hart had 1,212 and Jackson 367. By U.P.I.'s count, Mondale at

week's end had gained six more delegates. An additional 379 were still to be chosen, were uncommitted, or had been pledged to candidates no longer in the race. The presumed inevitability of a Mondale nomination seemed likely to solidify and enlarge his support by the start of the Democratic Convention in San Francisco on July 16.

Hart hoped to use his California victory to block the Mondale bandwagon. But he was slow to capitalize on it, mainly because he had been caught off guard by the magnitude of his California win. His last day of campaigning had gone dimly. After some morning stumping in New Jersey, where his weariness had earlier caused him to praise a supporter for coming "here for the New Hampshire primary," Hart's aides found that early exit polls indicated he was going to lose the state. Shortly after his chartered Boeing 720 took off from Philadelphia, an engine caught fire and the cabin filled with smoke. Hart's wife Lee ran

from a rear seat through the plane because "I thought we were going down and I wanted to be with my family." The aircraft landed safely, and Hart's shaken entourage took Ozark Air Lines planes to St. Louis and California. Unaware that he was on the way toward a dramatic and off-setting win on the West Coast, Hart canceled election-night network interviews in Los Angeles, missing a possibly vital chance to call attention to his California triumph. NBC had promoted its scheduled interview with Hart on the nightly news. When he bailed out, Correspondent Roger Mudd put questions to an empty chair, a bit of low-blow journalism that enraged the candidate when he heard about it later.

Hart awoke Wednesday morning to discover belatedly that he could declare a "spectacular, prodigious victory" in California. He also whipped Mondale, 51% to 39%, in South Dakota, where Jackson got just 5%. Hart had almost as large an edge in New Mexico, 46% to 36% over Mondale, with Jackson at 12%. In West Virginia, however, where unemployment runs at 16% and the coal-mining industry is depressed, Mondale won easily, 54% to Hart's 37% and Jackson's 7%.

What mattered most, however, was New Jersey and California, two states that were considered somewhat similar in their demographic makeup but turned out to be in contrasting political moods. Hart's blunder in lamenting that he had to campaign in New



Holding an impromptu cable-car press conference in San Francisco

Nation

Jersey amid toxic wastes while his wife had the pleasure of stumping California had hurt him in the sensitive Garden State, which lives in New York's shadow. Mondale, on the other hand, could not overcome Hart's more macho appeal in California, where the image of a Colorado outdoorsman backed by a bevy of movie celebrities gets a friendlier reception than that of a buttoned-up Washington-trained political operator. Mondale ran well in urban districts around Los Angeles and in one San Diego district but was blanketed throughout northern California.

Even though its impact was muted in the East, the California result gave Hart an important lift, at least delaying any concession that Mondale had the nomination wrapped up. Said Hart: "Welcome to overtime." He declared his campaign "must go forward, and we will." Oliver Henkel, Hart's campaign manager, insisted that "Mondale's claims of 2,008 delegates are bravado. He's still in the 1,800s by our best counts." David Mixner, a key Hart strategist in California, argued that even if Mondale winds up 200 votes over a majority by convention time, "it's a slim margin. One event, one thing done wrong, and he's gone." If Hart kept Mondale from a first-ballot win, delegates might desert Mondale in droves.

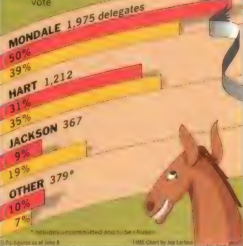
The Hart camp argues that the Coloradoan is, by many yardsticks, a stronger candidate than Mondale. Hart won twelve primaries to Mondale's eleven. When states where delegates were chosen by caucus are added, the two contenders tied 24 to 24. Mondale failed to win a Western or New England primary. Hart consistently showed more strength than Mondale among independents and also won the most Republican votes in those states where party cross-overs were permitted. Since neither Democrats nor Republicans command a majority of registered voters (a recent estimate: Democrats 40%, Republicans 25%) independents and Republican defections might possibly hold the key to Democratic hopes in November.

The validity of any continued Hart candidacy thus rests on the theory that he has a better chance of defeating Reagan than does Mondale. Hart once commanded a surprising lead over Mondale in polls pairing the two against Reagan. Hart actually led Reagan last March in a Gallup poll, 52% to 43%, while Mondale trailed the President, 45% to 50%. Recent poll readings are less definitive. The latest Gallup

BREAKING THE TAPE

1,967 needed to win

■ Percent of delegates
■ Percent of popular vote



findings, taken early in May, show Reagan leading Mondale by 50% to 46% while the President edges Hart by 49% to 45%. Most Democratic political pros estimate that Hart's margin over Mondale against Reagan would have to be at least 10 percentage points to influence many convention delegates. The Hart strategists are eagerly awaiting new polls in the hope that Hart's strong showing in California will push him higher.

The Mondale strategists counter that many of Hart's primary wins were in relatively small states, some of which Reagan seems certain to take. They note that Mondale led Hart in the popular vote 4.9 million to 4.5 million. Even in California, estimates of the untabulated raw votes by candidate had Mondale running close. California, like New Jersey, has a process in which delegates are elected directly by

districts. Even a slight edge in popularity is usually enough to sweep a district, since voters tend to pick a candidate's full slate of delegates.

Some analysts contend that Mondale would have knocked out Hart midway in the primary season if Jackson had not been pulling a large black vote, which is seen as more liberal and less favorable to Hart. Others argue that Jackson created a following of his own that would not have voted at all without his candidacy. In general, Mondale's aides claim, Hart was merely a receptacle for anti-Mondale votes and had no real constituency to take into the general election. The Hart rebuttal is that Mondale's traditional party support is too limited and that in a fight against Reagan it would go to Hart anyway.

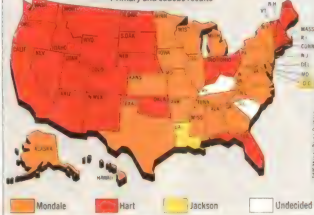
While the long argument over each candidate's relative electability lingered, so too did the personal friction among the three contenders. Their tenth and last major debate, televised nationally from Los Angeles two days before Super Tuesday

III, showed again that the Democrats' wounds are deep and festering. Mondale glared at Hart and heatedly objected to the Senator's suggestion that the Justice Department may investigate the labor-supported PAC funds that had helped elect many Mondale delegates. NBC Moderator Tom Brokaw asked Hart, "Do you want to look him in the eye and say that you didn't accuse him of criminal activity?" Hart: "He knows I didn't." Mondale: "Did you not suggest a possible judicial investigation?" Hart: "I said that the Reagan Justice Department would be very likely..." Mondale: "Now what do you think that suggests? Overparking?" Hart tried to deflect the direct challenge, claiming that "civil laws" were involved in election practices and adding, "I never said anything about criminal." Moments later, Hart accused Mondale of running "a campaign of distortion and 'distraction.'" He cited a TV ad used by Mondale's campaign in New Jersey that attacked Hart's unwillingness to support legislation against handguns. Hart says he favors state controls on such weapons and contends that the ad portrays him as soft on criminals. But he described the ad's contents inaccurately and admitted later that he had not seen it.

Beginning to abandon his role of debate peacemaker, Jackson belittled the "rat-a-tat" of Mondale-Hart, while jabbing playfully at what he considered unfair media coverage of his campaign. Jackson's demeanor was much more strident, however.

DIVIDING UP THE COUNTRY

Primary and caucus results



when he was away from the other two. Speaking on election day in Los Angeles, he said harshly that Mondale and Hart "mean well, but they aren't tough enough to lead." At the site of the Watts race riots of 1965, Jackson shouted: "There's Mondale—the same man who tried to defeat Harold Washington. The same man who sits on the board of Control Data doing business with South Africa [Mondale resigned last year]. The same man who can't make up his mind on voting rights. And there's Hart—don't bother."

Earlier in the acrimonious campaign Hart had told an interviewer, "Mondale is mush. He is weak and his managers know it." On the PAC issue he suggested that Mondale had adopted "the ethics of Ed Meese," a reference to Reagan's choice for Attorney General, whose financial dealings are under investigation by a special prosecutor. A Hart ad strongly implied that Mondale's Central America policies would lead to American battle casualties in the region. Mondale in turn termed Hart's foreign policy views "naive," suggested that he was not "seasoned and experienced" and did not "know what he is doing." Mondale dramatized the point in ads that showed a red telephone ringing in the night and suggesting that Hart should not be trusted with a potential doomsday decision.

In the end, the clashes between the candidates, while demonstrating that it would be difficult for them to develop any real rapport, were far less brutal than the party's brawls over Viet Nam in 1968 and 1972. Only two of the unkind labels each tried to affix to the other seem likely to stick: Hart's tagging of Mondale as the candidate of "special interests" and Mondale's "Where's the beef?" query, implying that Hart's "new ideas" and "new generation" themes are empty slogans.

As Mondale continued to pick up a delegate here or there through the end of the week, Hart traveled to Washington to consult key Democratic leaders. Most of them urged that he restrict himself to a highroad pre-convention campaign in which he would avoid any divisive attacks on Mondale. Cautioned Speaker Tip O'Neill: "People love a fighter, but they hate a spoiler." Said Hart: "He's exactly right, and I have no intention of being one." Hart indicated that he did not plan to stage furtive raids on Mondale delegates or mount numerous seating challenges at the convention.

But in an interview with TIME last Friday, Hart seemed determined to carry on his quest for the nomination. "I intend to go all the way to San Francisco and I intend to be nominated on the first ballot," he asserted. "Six weeks is a lifetime in politics," he added, referring to the pre-convention period. "Remember New Hampshire? Remember Florida?"

Hart then softened his certitude a shade, conceding that "it's going to be an uphill fight. It always has been, but it's still possible." Yes, he had weighed the



The Harts in Cherry Hill, N.J.: the state that chilled his chances

pros and cons of persisting into the first ballot. "There are lots of positive reasons to go on and very, very few negative ones. We have been advocating moving this party into the future, and a great many people have responded. That element of the party should and must be heard through to the convention."

As for yielding to Mondale's call for party unity, Hart said he will "try to avoid conflict." He had talked to Mondale on Friday, he reported. "It was very pleasant. He didn't ask anything of me. I didn't ask anything of him. He said it would be a good idea if we got together soon, and I said, 'Great, the sooner the better.' I told him I'd be continuing to run a positive campaign, that I had no intention of fighting a rearguard or a spoiler action, because that's not the kind of person I am. It's not in my nature."

Flying to his home state's Democratic convention, Hart received an emotional

welcome on Saturday. To standing ovations, he declared, "We have a duty that goes beyond a candidate or party. The defeat of Ronald Reagan is our moral imperative." Spacing his words for emphasis, Hart vowed: "I—do—not—quit."

In practical terms, Hart's gentlemanly approach suggested that his would be more of a symbolic reach for attention and influence at the convention than a serious final drive for the prize. He and his delegates would get their well-earned spotlight in the party's prime-time televised assembly. To abandon his bid for the nomination and withdraw his name completely from consideration at the convention would reduce his clout in shaping the party's platform and in working with Jackson to overhaul the delegate selection rules, which were shown to be unfair this year. "The 1,200 delegates he has now need a leader," said Connecticut Senator Christopher J. Dodd, a Hart supporter. "At the convention you can do a lot of things other than just pick a nominee."

For one thing, Hart may challenge the seating of six of Mondale's 77 Florida delegates and all 53 of his Puerto Rico delegates, arguing that election procedures in those areas violated party rules. While still protesting that Mondale's PAC-funded delegates were "tainted," he showed no desire to seek a ruling on the issue from the convention credentials committee. The delegates involved in the controversy are from New York, Pennsylvania and Illinois, all of which were carried convincingly by Mondale. Hart knows that he would risk a sorehead image if he were to push that challenge personally at the convention.

Hart had his political future to consider. "You'll make a great President," predicted O'Neill as he spoke to Hart in a fatherly way. "But not this year." The implication was clear: if Hart plays his cards right, he would be the early Democratic favorite for 1988—that is, if Mondale does not win this fall. Arizona



Getting consoling advice from O'Neill

"You'll make a great President, but..."

A message from those who don't to those who do.

We're uncomfortable.

To us, the smoke from your cigarettes can be anything from a minor nuisance to a real annoyance.

We're frustrated.

Even though we've chosen not to smoke, we're exposed to second-hand smoke anyway.

We feel a little powerless.

Because you can invade our privacy without even trying. Often without noticing.

And sometimes when we speak up and let you know how we feel, you react as though *we* were the bad guys.

We're not fanatics. We're not out to deprive you of something you enjoy. We don't want to be your enemies.

We just wish you'd be more considerate and responsible about how, when, and where you smoke.

We know you've got rights and feelings. We just want you to respect our rights and feelings, as well.

A message from those who do to those who don't.

We're on the spot.

Smoking is something we consider to be a very personal choice, yet it's become a very public issue.

We're confused.

Smoking is something that gives us enjoyment, but it gives you offense.

We feel singled out.

We're doing something perfectly legal, yet we're often segregated, discriminated against, even legislated against.

Total strangers feel free to abuse us verbally in public without warning.

We're not criminals. We don't mean to bother or offend you. And we don't like confrontations with you.

We're just doing something we enjoy, and trying to understand your concerns.

We know you've got rights and feelings. We just want you to respect our rights and feelings, as well.

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Nation

Congressman Morris Udall, acting as a mediator between Mondale and Hart, said of the Senator: "He knows the importance of defeating Ronald Reagan and I'm convinced he'll play a constructive role in the weeks ahead." Many Democrats are even touting him as an ideal running mate for Mondale (see following story).

In any unity drive, Mondale's political agility may be tested more in seeking Jackson's support than in persuading Hart that his long-term political interests lie in bowing to the party's majority sentiment. After winning four delegates in New Jersey, where he got 24% of the vote, and picking up 29 delegates in California, Jackson candidly assessed what Mondale and the convention planners must do to satisfy him. Said he: "The bottom line is my self-respect, and that's what they must come to grips with."

The black preacher's blurry blend of ego and principle presents the conventional Mondale with a most unconventional problem. A practitioner of political compromise, Mondale frequently asks reporters who have covered Jackson, "What does Jesse want?" The larger issue of dealing with a fervent black movement seems to elude him. Jackson, who took black votes from Mondale in the primaries but whose followers are vital to Mondale's chances in November, must be subtly massaged. He cannot be assuaged with something like a promise of a Cabinet post or an ambassadorship.

Jackson's specific demands can apparently be accommodated if the resulting compromises are couched in rhetoric that gives the civil rights leader a face-saving reason to accept them. His complaint that the party's presidential primary rules are unfair, sometimes awarding a candidate far fewer delegates than his electoral strength would warrant, is valid. Ironically, it was Mondale last week who complained that the rules were stacked against him in California, where his share of the delegates was far less than the percentage of votes his delegates received. A new party commission to reform the rules once again is necessary, although changes could hardly be applied retroactively to the 1984 primaries.

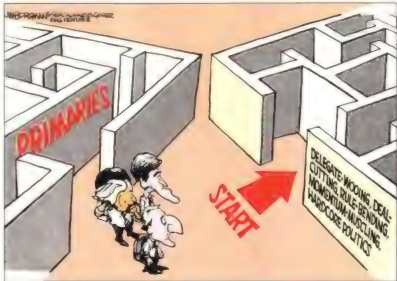
Jackson's insistence on an end to run-off primaries for congressional, state and local offices is a prickly problem. Under the runoff system, mostly in effect in the South, if no one gets more than 50% of the votes cast, the two top vote getters in a multicandidate field are pitted against each other in a second election. Jackson claims that such runoffs are inherently discriminatory, since blacks rarely constitute a majority and thus have difficulty beating a white head to head. One possible compromise: holding runoffs only when the first-round winner receives less than 40% of the vote. The issue will apparently be

thrashed out in the convention's platform committee, which Mondale delegates will control. Jackson feels certain that he can get enough support on the committee to take a minority report backing his position to the convention floor, where it could stir strong emotions. While platform planks have little practical effect, the fight could especially embitter white Southern Democrats, most of whom are strong advocates of the runoff system.

Jackson is being counseled by seasoned black politicians not to play a seriously disruptive convention role. Above all, they want to see Reagan defeated and black voting power increased. Among those giving Jackson such advice are Mayor Marion Barry of Washington, D.C., Mayor Richard Hatcher of Gary, Ind., California Legislator Maxine Waters and former Manhattan Borough

who are some of Mondale's keenest supporters and most generous contributors, that Jackson is radically pro-Arab. As a result, Mondale cannot be seen to be conceding too much to Jackson for fear of a backlash that could drive Jewish voters into the Reagan camp.

Whatever the remaining perils on the path to San Francisco, Walter Mondale has clearly earned a rest. Quipped he: "I think I'm going to sit down and read my old speeches because I want to get a nap as quickly as possible." Symbolically, the self-declared champion of America's underprivileged chose an odd place to vacation for a week: the sumptuous seaside estate of New York Investment Banker Herbert Allen in Long Island's exclusive Southampton. But in another sense, the choice was apt. One of Mondale's main remaining tasks before the convention will be fund raising. His campaign spent



President Percy Sutton of New York City. All are experienced in negotiating delicate political compromises and could help limit any potentially damaging disagreements at the convention.

Far harder for any party leaders to influence are Jackson's grandiose foreign policy forays. Last week he announced that he will fly to Havana later this month at Fidel Castro's invitation. Jackson says he will try to persuade Castro to renounce the Soviet Olympic boycott and send Cuban athletes to Los Angeles. He plans a July 2 trip to the U.S.-Mexico border, where, he says, he will lead demonstrators to protest the Reagan Administration's policy on Central America and demand that the Western Hemisphere become a "war-free zone." Meanwhile, Jackson's political associate, Louis Farrakhan, leader of the black Nation of Islam organization, visited Libyan Leader Muammar Gaddafi in Tripoli. The trip reinforced the impression among American Jews,

heavily in the quest for a quick knockout, and the long ordeal left it some \$2 million in debt.

Mondale had also earned a moment of self-congratulation. He had shed enough of his Norwegian reserve to kill the old suspicion, once expressed by his Minnesota mentor Hubert Humphrey, that he lacked "fire in the belly." Still carrying Humphrey's banner of liberalism and contending that his was the party of compassion, Mondale bucked the austere, antigovernment spirit of the times. At several junctures he was down and almost out; each time he bounced back and recaptured the lead. If he scores his expected nomination victory, he will start the November race a heavy underdog. But he will start it as Fighting Fritz, a man who has shown he can win over a long and demanding course.

—By Ed Magnusson.
Reported by Sam Allis with Mondale, David Beckwith with Hart and Jack E. White with Jackson

Tackling the Teflon President

Underdog Mondale says he likes running from behind



Mondale loyalists whistle bravely. "If I were a Republican, I'd be worried," declares Ohio Governor Dick Celeste. But the real fear grips the Democrats. "Mondale's chances are uphill," concedes Iowa Democratic Party Chairman Dave Nagle. Hart partisans give Mondale no chance at all. "Politics has a certain ecology to it," says Hart Adviser Frank Mankiewicz. "Walter Mondale appears to be Ronald Reagan's natural prey."

It is hard to find any Democrats, other than Mondale and his immediate entourage, who are willing to flat out predict victory in November. The odds in Las Vegas are 4 to 1 against such an outcome, making an even-money bet on Mondale the biggest gamble since George McGovern was a 5-to-1 underdog in his race against Richard Nixon in 1972.

The polls consistently show Reagan about 8 percentage points ahead of Mondale. Political geography favors Reagan even more. No Democrat since Lyndon Johnson in 1964 has won the West. Reagan can count on sweeping at least 95 of the 111 Electoral College votes in the 13 Western states. That means he starts off with 17% of the Electoral College. In the South, the President's conservatism is so popular that Atlanta Pollster Claibourne Darden believes "Reagan has only himself to beat now." In the Midwest he is showing surprising strength in the key states of Ohio and Michigan, where he is being helped by the comeback of the auto industry.

Nationally, too, the biggest problem for the apparent Democratic nominee is that the U.S. economy seems robust. Voters follow their pocketbooks, and the latest upswing in the economic cycle has coincided with Reagan's re-election campaign. Unemployment (7.4%) is down from double digits to roughly where it was when Reagan took office, and inflation (5.6%) has not been so low in a decade. When Reagan was sworn in, it was 13.5%. More important, most voters feel that times are good—and getting better.

If the election were held today, even Mondale's strongest backers concede that their man would lose. But they claim to relish the role of underdog. This may be because every time Mondale was pronounced the front runner during the

Democratic primaries, he promptly lost an election. With a lead, he was a listless and complacent campaigner. When behind, he was "Fightin' Fritz."

Reagan, Mondale's people argue, should be vulnerable on the issues. There is, for starters, the deficit: instead of balancing the budget as he promised, Reagan has tripled the red ink, to \$190 billion. There are questions of war and peace: the President's bellicose gibes at the Soviets,

while his policies fail and his aides retain counsel, obviously floats along, taking afternoon naps and loafing through old *Reader's Digests* for speech ideas. Reagan, Mondale told TIME last week, "is looking at the world through Rose Garden-colored glasses. For him to say that it's a safer world, that interest rates are dropping, that deficits are overestimated, is just not true." Indeed, Mondale contends that on issues such as civil rights, women's rights, arms control and the environment "there's a lot of anger out there, and Reagan doesn't understand it. Reagan is detached from reality, and that can be used against him."

To exploit this caricature of an out-to-lunch President, Mondale will portray himself as "Mr. Competence," a hands-on executive who is familiar with the levers of power and how to pull them. Says Wisconsin Democratic Party Chairman Matthew Flynn: "Fritz is decent, safe and steady. People trust him to do the predictable thing. He won't tamper with Social Security or go to war." Mondale says he is eager to show his steadiness, and expose Reagan's tenuous grasp of the issues, in "several" TV debates.

Mondale indeed has weathered ten debates in the past six months, while Reagan has not debated anyone in four years. But Mondale must avoid the fate of his former running mate, Jimmy Carter. In 1980 Carter scored more substantive points than Reagan, but the former actor won the debate on tone and style—and the election shortly thereafter. Mondale, though warm and funny in private, is stiff on television; while Reagan grins easily and naturally, Mondale sometimes bares his teeth like the runner-up in a beauty contest.


Even Reagan's worst enemies marvel at his dirt-doesn't-stick "Teflon" presidency. Voters forgive Reagan his verbal gaffes, and even his policy blunders. Many ordinary citizens feel they can say about Reagan, even though he lives in the White House, that "he is one of us." Walter Mondale, on the other hand, is one of them: the Washington bureaucrats, the lobbyists, the big spenders in Congress, who have—at least in the world according to Reagan—ensnared the nation in red tape and drowned it in red ink.

Other candidates for the Democratic nomination have done Reagan's spade-work, painting Mondale as the avatar of Big Government and a vestige of the failed Carter Administration. Gary Hart, particularly, has attacked Mondale as the tool of special interests, most of all Big Labor. When Mondale tries to expose the Reaganauts' sleaze factor, the Republicans are sure



the Mondale camp argues, have frozen relations between the two superpowers. Lately though, Reagan has cooled his rhetoric, while the Soviets are sounding as mean as he portrays them. Then there is the charge that Reagan's economic policies have demonstrably favored the rich at the expense of the poor. According to a Congressional Budget Office study, households earning more than \$20,000 a year reaped 85% of the tax reductions, while households earning less than \$20,000 have paid for two-thirds of the budget cuts. (The Reaganauts counter that the supply-side tax cuts spurred the economy, creating jobs and spreading the wealth.)

Finally, there is the "sleaze factor": Mondale aides claim that the Reaganauts have shown disregard for propriety, if not the rule of law. More than 30 Reagan appointees have been investigated for one thing or another. In sum, the Mondale staff depicts an incumbent who,



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to cite the questions Hart raised about Mondale's propriety. Hart's main charge: Mondale used "tainted money" raised by labor political action committees to avoid federal campaign-spending limits. Even supporters admit that Mondale tends to overpromise. For instance, he pledged to the AFL-CIO that he would match the export subsidies of other countries "product for product, dollar for dollar" (cost: up to \$50 billion). Says one Hart adviser: "Reagan will get a lot of mileage from moderate Democrats by saying to them, 'Free your party from Big Labor.' These White House people aren't just sitting there, you know. They're gathering ammunition about just how tied to Big Labor Walter Mondale actually is, and it will be devastating." The G.O.P. will also try to tag former Vice President Mondale with the failures of Carter's foreign policy, particularly the debacle of the hostages in Iran.

Far from coming on as the feisty challenger, Mondale could quickly wind up on the defensive. "Mondale is the reincarnation of Hubert Humphrey, even down to that shrill desperation in his voice," says Gerald Austin, a Midwestern Democratic political analyst. Warns Nebraska Governor Bob Kerrey, a Hart backer: "Mondale has got to take the first step away from organized labor, perhaps by saying that wage increases have to be tied to productivity. You can't have a 100% voting record with COPE [the AFL-CIO's political arm] and get elected."

Perhaps, but Mondale is not about to disavow his political heritage and turn into a "neoliberal" like Hart. Instead, Mondale's advisers say, the nominee-to-be will become even more of a liberal ideologue. Mondale will try to portray himself as the champion of the working man, the downtrodden and the dispossessed, in sharp counterpoint to Reagan. In effect, Mondale will try to turn the campaign into a class contest.

One problem with this strategy is that Populist Fritz looks more like Establishment Fritz. He says that he "hurts" when workers lose jobs and the poor go hungry, but voters question his empathy when they read that he earned some \$300,000 last year by doing almost nothing for a Washington law firm and by sitting on various corporate boards. Also, there may not be enough poor, minorities and union members to elect Mondale. If the old Democratic coalition turned out in force, it could perhaps again forge a majority. But voter turnout is traditionally low at the bottom end of the economic ladder. Mondale has thus far been unable to arouse the passion necessary to drive voters to the polls.

Mondale is counting on help from a truly effective orator: Jesse



Waving to New Jersey voters from a construction scaffold

Jackson. The Jackson camp believes that its man encouraged some 2 million more blacks to vote in this year's primaries than ever before. In Pennsylvania, TV exit polls showed that blacks cast 18% of the total vote, up from 12% in 1980. The black vote could be crucial, especially in the South. Jackson and Mondale partisans use the same appealing but flawed arithmetic: if only 10% more blacks vote in five Southern states lost by Carter in 1980, the Democrat could win them all. The trouble is, that presumes Mondale will be able to win as many white votes in the South as Native Son Carter did. It also presumes that Reagan's support is static, when in fact large numbers of conservative Southern whites have registered to vote in the past several years.

To win, Mondale will have to sell his campaign of compassion beyond its natu-

ral constituency. Most polls show that Reagan and Mondale can each safely count on about one-third of the voters. The election will be won or lost in the battle over the middle third. Many in this swing group are Hart supporters, including his hard core of "yuppies"—younger upwardly mobile professionals. Omnisciently, exit polls found that more than a third of the Hart voters in California and New Jersey would vote for Reagan, or not at all, if Mondale is the nominee. The Mondale camp believes that their minds will change when the heat of the primary race dissipates and Hart voters look more closely at Reagan's policies. "It's no longer the great yumpie in the sky. It's Walter Mondale or Ronald Reagan," says Tim Russert, counselor to New York Governor Mario Cuomo. Hart's followers, naturally, will be more likely to vote for Mondale if Hart is with him on the ticket (see following story).

The middle third of undecided voters is largely middle class. Mondale's task will be to make them identify with those left behind by the Reagan revolution. "When Reagan says, 'Are you better off?' he's talking to people who got the big tax cuts," declares Mondale. "What I want to ask Americans is not whether you happen to be among those who got a better commercial deal for yourself, but are we better off?"

Yet to many voters watching Reagan's television ads that portray a Norman Rockwell America in the summer of '84, glowing with prosperity and joy, the answer is a resounding yes. In good times, middle-class voters usually look up, not down.

What the Mondale campaign really needs is for the country to suffer a severe economic jolt or a foreign policy disaster. Says Texas Political Consultant George Christian, former press secretary to President Lyndon Johnson: "Mondale needs the big one—the big blowup in the Middle East, the big interest-rate jump—to turn this thing around. If it's just business as usual, he's not going to make it." Verbal stumbles by the President, or gloomy warnings that he has mortgaged the future with those heavy deficits, are not enough. For Reagan's magic to wear off, voters must actually feel the effect of his mistakes. In the end, the election is more Reagan's to lose than Mondale's to win. Says Iowa Democrat Nagle: "The chances for victory are out of our hands."

Still, long shots have surprised before. In 1948 the Democratic candidate was widely dismissed as a sure loser. In 1984 the Democrats can only hope that the pundits are as wrong about Walter Mondale as they were about Harry Truman. —By Evan Thomas. Reported by Sam Allis with Mondale and Christopher Ogden/Chicago, with other bureaus



Pressing the flesh at a picnic at Los Angeles City College
"Mondale appears to be Ronald Reagan's natural prey."

Looking Out for No. 2

Gender, geography and politics will figure in the Veep selection



If Walter Mondale is indeed nominated, he may do as Ronald Reagan did in 1980, and reach out to his vanquished opponent. Gary Hart might help with young, upscale voters, and his presence on the ticket would provide a neat, superficial image of Democratic solidarity. On the other hand, Mondale could pick a woman. New York Congresswoman Geraldine Ferraro or San Francisco Mayor Dianne Feinstein (see TIME, June 4) would provide a major-party ticket with gender balance for the first time, in one stroke countering Mondale's reputation for timidity and, perhaps, galvanizing women to vote Democratic. Or he may take the standard approach and pick an uncontentious male who would offer simple geographical and ideological counterweight. In any event, Mondale said last week, the choice is "the most important single act by a presidential candidate." He assigned a senior adviser, John R. Reilly, to check out possible running mates, a process that will probably last until the convention.

Hart is a Westerner with flair, and slightly more to the center than Mondale; in theory, Hart would supply the requisite ticket balance. In reality, however, a Mondale-Hart ticket might amount to less than the sum of its parts. Says Hart: "I'm not sure if that would be a dream ticket." If he accepted the second spot, much of his essentially maverick appeal might be lost, since one of Hart's campaign premises is a rejection of back-room dealing. Campaign Manager Oliver Henkel, a friend for more than 20 years, thinks Hart is temperamentally unsuited for the job. "He'd be absolutely miserable," says Henkel. For his part, Hart insists, "I am not interested in being Vice President."

Among Democrats of every philosophical tint there is some pick-a-woman sentiment. The enthusiasm seems motivated more by wishful political calculation than by feminist feeling. Says Wisconsin Party Chairman Matthew Flynn: "Mondale has only one chance to win this election—if he picks a woman. He has to take a gamble." Ferraro, 48, is the leading female contender. As an Italian American from the East, Ferraro would provide political leveling. Feinstein, 50, the impressive Jewish mayor of a hip city, would help compensate for the nominee's Midwestern squareness.

If Mondale wants geographical balance, he could look south: Florida's moderately conservative Governor Bob Graham, 47, is sometimes mentioned. Mondale's strategists also talk about Chrysler Chairman Lee Iacocca, 59, who is nationally celebrated for his corporate grit. But Iacocca, ebullient and bossy, probably would not slide easily into a supporting role. Mark White, 44, elected Governor of Texas in 1982, has only a meager track record, but his presence on the ticket could help win his state's 29 electoral votes for the Democrats. If Ohio's 23 electoral votes look piv-



Mondale backers needle Hart at New Jersey campaign stop
"I am not interested in being Vice President."

otal, Mondale might tap Senator John Glenn, 62.

Three men stand out as Mondale's most serious vice-presidential prospects. None is widely known. If winning Texas is paramount, Senator Lloyd Bentsen Jr. would be the reliable bet. Bentsen, 63, is a tried-and-true organization man and very conservative for a Democrat: the liberal Americans for Democratic Action gives him a 40 rating, which is in the Republican range. Indeed, Bentsen's political differences with Mondale may be too big to gloss over gracefully. His views on U.S. policy in Central America—he has supported CIA aid for the *contra* guerrillas in Nicaragua and does not rule out U.S.

combat intervention in El Salvador—are not unlike the Reagan Administration's.

A bomber pilot in World War II, Bentsen strongly supports the MX missile and the B-1 bomber, both of which Mondale opposes. Bentsen opposes a nuclear freeze, which Mondale firmly favors. Bentsen is against the protectionist domestic-content legislation; passage of the bill is a top priority with Mondale. Despite the differences, Bentsen would be comfortable running with Mondale. A President, he says, should not be surrounded by yes men.

Heir to an enormous South Texas real estate fortune, Bentsen was elected county judge at age 25, and to Congress at 27. In 1954, when he was 33, he went back home to build up his own business and did not return to Washington until 1971, as a Senator. Five years later, he ran for the Democratic presidential nomination. Hardly anyone noticed, and he dropped out of the race after a year. In the Senate, he is a leading member of the Finance Committee, and also acutely attuned to the complexities of immigration. As head of the Senate Democrats' re-election apparatus, he seems to revel in the prosaic details of fund raising, telephone banks and tracking surveys.

Bentsen's manner is patrician and somber, his speaking style stolid, less rousing even than Mondale's. According to Dallas *Times Herald* Columnist Molly Ivins, Bentsen "has the charisma of a dead catfish." But he is nonetheless popular with both Republicans and Democrats in Texas and has a loyal following among Mexican Americans, who appreciate his fluency in Spanish. He won re-election in 1982 with 59% of the vote, the highest plurality in a Texas Senate race since 1958. Bentsen, however, might exacerbate Mondale's single biggest campaign embarrassment so far: the Texan gets more Political Action Committee contributions than any other Senate Democrat.

Senator Dale Bumpers, 58, of Arkansas has lots of natural pizzazz and down-home charm. A Marine sergeant in World War II, he practiced law and ran a hardware store in Charleston, Ark. (pop. 1,748), before he decided to try for political office. In 1970 he won the governorship. After a second term, he was elected to the Senate. "Dale is a cross between John F. Kennedy and a Methodist minister," ventures Little Rock Attorney Robert Brown, a former Bumpers aide. "He really turns on a crowd."

If Mondale offers Bumpers a spot on the ticket, Brown thinks he would accept "in a red-hot minute." But aides also thought Bumpers would be running for President this year. Bumpers decided in April 1983 that he would be unable to raise enough money to carry on a serious campaign. A vice-presidential race, even



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Nation

if it fails, would provide national exposure that might enhance Bumpers' presidential prospects in 1988. But his nomination in San Francisco in July, says Bumpers breezily, "is not going to happen." Why not? "Lloyd Bentsen would bring five times as many electoral votes as I would."

Bumpers is somewhat more centrist than Mondale—he has voted contrary to organized labor's wishes—but with an A.D.A. rating of 85, he would create no real ideological clash. Brown says Bumpers is able to explain his liberal positions "in such a way that he neutralizes the opposition, and the people come away saying, 'Hey, I never thought of it that way.'"

Bumpers, an assertive member of the Energy Committee, is probably the most liberal Southerner in the Senate. He voted against the B-1 bomber. He has supported human rights conditions on military aid to El Salvador. On a ticket with Mondale, he would be able to run effectively against the Reagan budget deficit. Bumpers was one of just three Senators who voted in favor of Reagan's 1981 spending cuts but against his huge tax cuts.

In some ways, New York Governor Mario Cuomo is like Bumpers. Both are liberal, vaguely populist lawyers, but neither is doctrinaire. Both first achieved elective office in their 40s. Each has the enviable knack of persuading the press of

his soulfulness and decency. Cuomo, 52, could add some passion and streetwise piquancy to a Mondale ticket. Like Ferraro, he is an Italian American from the New York City borough of Queens. Ideologically, he is close to Mondale, but some party strategists, arguing in favor of Cuomo, think Mondale should not worry about orthodox ticket balancing. If the Democrats

even anguish, about some issues. Yet he can show hard-edged political courage as well. He has twice vetoed bills to re-establish the death penalty, even though a large majority of New Yorkers say they want the electric chair switched on again.

Cuomo, in office for less than two years, is still mainly untested. He did, during his first month, deftly resolve a 53-hour cell-block takeover by inmates at Sing Sing. He was an early and important Mondale supporter, but he seems authentically reluctant to run, and has unequivocally promised to serve out his gubernatorial term. His chief aide, Tim Russert, does not dance around the issue coyly. "I know him very, very well," says Russert. "He won't do it."

If recent history is a guide, Cuomo is a darker horse than the others. Spiro Agnew was the only sitting Governor nominated for Vice President by either party during the past generation, and every winning ticket since 1952, Republican or Democratic, has included a Southern or Western candidate. The safe, conventional choices are plain. But with a popular incumbent in the White House, this might be just the year to make a jolting break with custom.

—By Karl Anderson, Reported by Nays Gorey/Washington and David S. Jackson/Houston, with other bureaus



Cuomo of New York



Bentsen of Texas



Bumpers of Arkansas

are to win this year, the logic runs, their best shot may be a pair of unalloyed New Deal Democrats, making the alternative to Reagan stark.

Cuomo is not trendy. As the Governor himself proudly acknowledges in his recently published and thoughtful *Diaries*, he takes his Roman Catholicism, his family and his responsibilities to society very seriously. He has been deeply influenced by the thought of Jesuit philosopher Pierre Teilhard de Chardin. His son Andrew, 26, is one of his closest aides. For a politician, Cuomo displays unusual ambivalence,

A Heartbeat Away

Now that the quadrennial vice-presidential sweepstakes are at hand, it is worth remembering that a political ticket nearly always wins or loses on the popularity of the presidential candidate. Says Duke University Political Scientist James David Barber: "There is no clear evidence that the Vice President pulls much in the election except as a piece of the presidential candidate's image." Indeed, the importance of the No. 2 nominee may rest in how and why he or she was selected. Notes Hamilton Jordan, Jimmy Carter's chief strategist: "It is the first time people get to see the candidate make a substantive decision."

Voter reaction to a candidate's choice for Veep can be measurably negative. The revelation in 1972 that George McGovern's little-known running mate, Senator Thomas Eagleton, had undergone electroshock therapy doomed whatever tiny chance of success the Democrats had. In the wake of the furor, which resulted in Eagleton's being replaced by Sargent Shriver, one poll showed confidence in McGovern plummeting by 25%. In 1952 Richard Nixon's alleged association with a political slush fund became an embarrassment for Dwight Eisenhower, though not a fatal one. More recently, Senator Robert Dole was judged by some pollsters to be a drag on Gerald Ford's 1976 cam-

paign because he alienated voters with barbed rhetoric. Some strategists think that the selection of a Vice President should be viewed as an exercise in damage control. Reason: polls often show that candidates score higher ratings on their own than with any likely running mate. Says Ted Van Dyk, an aide to Hubert Humphrey in 1968: "Almost nobody helps you."

Actually, Humphrey's choice for No. 2, Senator Edmund Muskie, did help the ticket in one way: he delivered his home state of Maine to the Democrats for only the third time in this century. Traditionally, the ability to serve up his own state has been the minimal campaign boost expected of a running mate, and sometimes the only one: when Chester Arthur ran for Veep in 1880 on a ticket headed by James Garfield, he did not venture out of New York for the entire campaign—and carried it. In 1960, Pollster Louis Harris found that Lyndon Johnson added a crucial 4 percentage points to John Kennedy's standing in Texas, which was essential to a Democratic victory. However, not every running mate comes with a home-field advantage: since 1952, the 16 vice-presidential candidates have delivered their own states only eleven times.

But while Mondale's eventual choice may turn out to be only a modest plus or minus, the selection certainly bears watching. History shows that Vice Presidents are not doomed to obscurity: eight have replaced deceased Presidents, and eight have gone on to win the presidency on their own.



Kennedy and Johnson in Los Angeles in 1960

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Final Accounts

Transition books are opened

The details of two funds were surrounded by mystery for more than three years. It gradually became known that they had raised and spent roughly \$1 million, mostly in money from private donors, to smooth the transition from the Carter to the Reagan Administration. But the General Accounting Office, an arm of Congress, was refused access to the books. Leaks about who got how much from the funds appeared; White House aides reportedly quarreled among themselves about how much to disclose and when. Jacob Stein, the special prosecutor who is looking into the financial affairs of Presidential Counsellor Edwin Meese, asked for a copy of an audit by the accounting firm of Arthur Andersen & Co., and the funds' lawyers finally released it last week. It pointed to no apparent illegalities. The audit, however, did present some intriguing bits of information that might inspire some new questions at any further Senate hearings on the nomination of Meese for Attorney General.

The two operations were the Presidential Transition Foundation, which spent \$939,667, and the Presidential Transition Trust, which laid out \$192,198. Those expenditures supplemented the \$2 million that the Government made available to finance the transition. Donations for both funds were collected largely by Daniel J. Terra, a major Republican money raiser who is now President Reagan's Ambassador-at-Large for Cultural Affairs. Terra told prospective donors in one letter that the money would be used partly to pay expenses of transition workers that would not be reimbursable from the federal treasury but would be considered proper in private business.

The audit disclosed that the stubs of five checks issued by the trust had been altered. The checks apparently were written initially to cover "moving expenses," but that notation was blacked out and changed to "consulting fees." The recipients: Meese, Deputy White House Chief of Staff Michael Deaver and Administration Personnel Director E. Pendleton James, who got \$10,000 each; Interior Secretary William Clark, who got \$9,942; and Helene von Damm, Ambassador to Austria, who received \$2,000.

Why the change? One source says that payment of moving expenses might be challenged under a law that bans any supplement to the salaries of Government employees from private sources, but payment of consulting fees raised no such problem. Other sources argue that reimbursement of moving expenses was legal, but the resources of the funds could have been strained if many other officials demanded the same perk.

Another question is why Meese did not list the trust on the financial disclo-



Deaver and Meese after the election

Moving expenses or consulting fees?

sure form he filed in 1981 among the sources from which he received more than \$5,000 (he did identify the foundation, which paid him \$14,085). An associate says Meese, for simplicity's sake, ignored the "proliferation of names" among the many campaign and post-campaign organizations, but he did include both payments in \$59,940 listed as "income from law and consulting practice." Generally, all the payments from the transition funds would be legal so long as the recipients reported them to the Internal Revenue Service and paid taxes on them.

Some other notable payments:

► The biggest single disbursement, \$86,047.93, went to the law firm headed by Joseph Califano, an ardent Democrat and member of the Carter Cabinet. Califano says the payment covered his fee and expenses incurred in representing Alexander Haig, an old friend, at the Senate hearings that led to Haig's confirmation as Secretary of State.

► Deaver got \$8,041 and James \$5,781 from the foundation, in addition to the \$10,000 that each received from the trust.

► James Baker, now White House Chief of Staff, was virtually cut out of the action: he was paid a scant \$464 for "telephone reimbursement."

■ ■ ■

In another matter affecting Meese, Democratic Congresswoman Patricia Schroeder of Colorado charged last week that Government officials created a job for Gretchen Thomas. She is the wife of a former Meese aide who made a \$15,000 loan to the Presidential Counsellor's wife that Meese failed to disclose. Thomas' employer, the San Francisco office of the Merit Systems Protection Board, which is supposed to guard against favoritism in the hiring and promotion of Government employees, Schroeder demanded that Board Chairman Herbert Ellingwood resign. ■

Teamster Talk

Should the boss be prosecuted?

Man bites dog. Soviets say yes. Teamsters Union president escapes indictment because he is an FBI informer. The third of these imaginary news flashes might seem the most farfetched, yet it is the one that could come true.

Five men have headed the nation's largest union (current membership: 1.8 million) during the past quarter-century. Three—Dave Beck, Jimmy Hoffa and Roy Williams—were convicted of federal crimes. Now there is an argument within the Justice Department about whether prosecutors should continue to urge a federal grand jury in Cleveland to indict Jackie Presser, who succeeded Williams as president in 1983. The charge would be that as secretary-treasurer of Cleveland's Local 507, a post he still holds, Presser signed checks making large payments of union funds to "ghost employees" who did no work. Presser's uncle, Allen Friedman, already has been convicted of receiving \$165,000 in such payments. Another man, John Nardi Jr., has pleaded guilty to taking \$109,000 in the same scheme.

Last week, however, the Los Angeles Times reported that since the 1970s, Presser has been passing information to the Federal Bureau of Investigation about Teamsters-related matters. TIME has learned independently that he has provided tips about other officials in his union to the FBI at secret meetings in Washington, Cleveland and San Francisco. Presser has previously been cited as a Government informer, notably in reports by two Internal Revenue Service agents.

Reluctant to lose a valued informant, or to have their relationship documented at a trial, many FBI men would like to see the case quietly dropped. Officials of the Justice Department's organized crime strike force, which is already presenting to the grand jury information turned up by the Labor Department, argue that Presser turned informer precisely to divert possible prosecution.

The Teamsters president is one of Ronald Reagan's few supporters among labor leaders; he was instrumental in winning the union's endorsement for Reagan in 1980 and served as an adviser on one of Reagan's transition teams. A decision on whether to seek indictment would have to be made at the top of the Justice Department. If that decision is delayed, there is some question as to who would make it. William French Smith is staying on as Attorney General on a caretaker basis; confirmation of his successor-designate, Edwin Meese, has been held up while an independent counsel looks into Meese's financial affairs. ■



Jackie Presser

Plight of a Millionaire Farmer

Some Democrats make an issue of John Block's borrowing

You are not the first farmer to be in financial difficulty primarily through no fault of your own." Thus wrote Senator James Exon, a Nebraska Democrat, in a letter that was probably intended to needle rather than console. The recipient: John Block, a millionaire hog farmer from Illinois who also happens to be Ronald Reagan's highly respected Secretary of Agriculture.

In fact, it is by no means sure that Block is in any serious economic trouble; Block dismissed all criticism as "political sniping," and the most he will concede is that his finances are "complicated." But, like many another farmer, he borrowed heavily to expand during the years of rural prosperity and is now being pinched by the same combination of high interest rates and falling land values that bedevils much of rural America. In the process, Block is becoming for certain farm-state Democrats a deliciously ironic political symbol of agricultural troubles that persist despite the Administration policies that Block helps to set.

The Secretary's financial-disclosure statement for 1983, made public in May, indicated that the farming partnerships in which he has an interest obtained unsecured loans totaling about \$2.5 million, most of which appear to have been assumed since his nomination to the Cabinet. Exon and Congressman Tom Harkin, an Iowa Democrat who is running for the Senate this year, wondered aloud whether banks were showing favoritism

to Block at a time when, as Block's critics say, other farmers could not get credit on any terms.

Block, who was in Japan last week to promote U.S. farm exports, told *TIME* the loans were rollovers of borrowings first taken out before he became Secretary. Midwestern bankers and economists confirm that banks made many unsecured loans during the 1970s to farmers who, like Block and his partners, bought land that was rising in value, and the banks willingly renewed such loans in the early 1980s. Says Richard Kohls, professor of agricultural economics at Purdue University: "The banks treated Block just like they did other farmers."

Nor does Block seem to have received any special break after the agricultural economy turned sour. He and his partners paid interest rates of up to 19.5%. Now that the value of farm land is falling,* banks are demanding collateral on formerly unsecured loans to their farmer-borrowers, including Block. The Secretary's press aide, John Ochs, says that since Jan. 1, Block

*The average value of an acre of U.S. farm land, including buildings, fell this year for the third year in a row, the longest sustained decline since 1933. Values in Iowa, one of the worst cases, dropped 11% last year and 30% over the past three years.

has put up collateral on "most" of his loans. Just where all that leaves his personal finances is uncertain. His disclosure statement lists assets worth somewhere between \$3.6 million and \$4.8 million vs. liabilities of between \$6.8 million and \$9.7 million. But the statement could be misleading; it includes the entire debt of partnerships in which Block is involved, but only his proportional share of the assets of those partnerships is tabulated.

Democratic critics insist they do not question Block's integrity, and indeed he had done nothing improper. Instead,

Exon charges, the Secretary's difficulties prove the farm economy is in much worse shape than the Administration is willing to admit.

Democrats grumble that the Farmers Home Administration, an arm of Block's department, refused to make or extend loans to other farmers at the very time banks were rolling over the Secretary's loans.

The *Des Moines Register* went so far as to call for Block's resignation on conflict-of-interest grounds. Said the paper: "If he proposes bold new programs to help debt-ridden farmers," Block will be accused of "serving his own financial interests," and if he does not, "there will be the suspicion that the Secretary avoided the issue for the sake of appearances or that he is among a select group of farmers who will benefit if the Government doesn't intervene in the crisis." Block's response: "This is another example of how ridiculous election-year politics can get."



On his Illinois farm



Wiped Right Off the Map

The sky was yellow and green," recalled Judy Anderson. "You could hear the momentum and roar. It was all over in 20 seconds." And when the tornado was all over, so too was Anderson's home town, Barneveld, Wis. (pop. 580)—literally wiped off the earth in a matter of seconds by a twister that left nine of its residents dead, 77 hospitalized and only three of its buildings standing intact.

The rubble of the once placid farming town 25 miles west of Madison looked like the aftermath of a prolonged military bombardment: the bank was split open, the fire station was smashed, 120 homes were ruined, the Lutheran church was leveled, yet its bell tower still stood grandly over the rubble as did the bulbous water tower emblazoned with the name Barneveld. Said Wisconsin Governor Anthony Earl: "It's the worst disaster I've ever seen. There are many, many people who are going to need long-term help."

The twister was one of 49 that spun off from a storm system that swept across the Midwest last Thursday night. At least 16 people died and hundreds were injured. "In my 25 years here, I don't remember a storm that has been so widespread," said Wayne Ellingson of the National Weather Service in Des Moines.

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Nation

"It Meant to Kill Us"

A rogue wind swallows a tall ship racing off Bermuda

He scratched the name Christopher in yellow chalk on the pavement at Bermuda's Royal Navy base. In red, next to this makeshift memorial, he wrote "Marques." A single yellow rose was placed beside the young boy's name and a bouquet of red and white carnations by that of the ship. Only then did Polish Captain Jan Sauer talk about how he and his schooner *Zawisza Czarna* rescued the survivors of the ill-fated *Marques*, the stately square-rigger that sank near Bermuda last week killing 17 sailors and trainees, their captain, Stuart Finlay, 42, and his 18-month-old son Christopher.

Built in Spain in 1917 and refurbished in England 13 years ago, the 117-ft. *Marques* had appeared in several movies and portrayed the *Beagle* in the television series *The Voyage of Charles Darwin*. It was one of 39 ships competing in the 800-mile Bermuda-Nova Scotia leg of the biennial Cutty Sark tall ships race sponsored by the British and American Sail Training Associations. One requirement of the race is that half of each ship's crew must be between the ages of 16 and 25. Finlay, an American who operated a sailing school in Antigua, had a complement of 28, including 13 from the U.S., seven from Britain, six from the Caribbean, one from Canada and one from Guyana.

Roiling seas and winds gusting to 40 knots buffeted the bark on its first night out of Bermuda, but when Andrew Freeman, 22, of Wallasey, England, finished his watch at 4 a.m., the fury had apparently subsided. "For some reason I stayed up on deck," he recalled later. "The boat was sailing along really well and fast, and it was a



The day before the race: the *Marques*, and Robert Cooper, 19, one of the nine survivors

nice feeling to be up there." That decision probably saved his life. "Those below did not stand a chance," said Philip Sefton, 22, also from Britain, who was at the helm. He described the deadly blow that struck the *Marques* 80 miles north of Bermuda: "It was totally unexpected. It was incredible in its velocity. It was a freak hurricane. The ship was on its side in less than ten seconds. She started to go under in 30 seconds. The squall knocked the ship over like a day sailer." According to Mark Litchfield, one of the British owners of the *Marques*, who was in Bermuda, "it seems incredible that she was driven under like that. It would have to have

been a wind of absolutely phenomenal proportions."

Everyone on deck was catapulted into the dark, heaving sea. "As she went under I levered myself onto the rail and was swept clear as she went under me," Sefton remembers. "As I stood on the poop rail I thought, 'Jump!' I went under water for a few seconds. A life raft was 30 ft. away. I thought, 'Oh God, swim!'" The orange rafts were designed to eject and inflate automatically in an emergency, and they did. Clifton McMillan, 16, of Fairfield, Conn., who had just finished his watch when the squall hit, managed to jump into a raft. He saw Bill Barnhardt, 24, of Wycombe, Pa., in the water near by, reached out, and yanked him by the arm into the raft. They were among the lucky ones. The *Marques* went down in less than a minute. "I can guarantee that everybody who was in their cabins asleep would not have the slightest idea of what had happened," said Sefton.

Captain Sauer, who diverted the *Zawisza Czarna* from the race, arrived on the scene four hours later. He found only eight mates of the *Marques* alive to tell the tale. A ninth was rescued by another ship. It seems doubtful that any trace of the others will turn up; a Canadian-American air and sea search that ranged over 3,600 square miles of the Atlantic found nothing and was called off four days after the sinking. The rescued sailors called the fatal force that capsized their ship "a rogue wind." "It meant to kill us," asserted John Ash, 24, of Newtown, Pa. "There was nothing we could do." The proud vessel brought to the bottom the silver cup it had captured by winning a previous leg of the tall ships race. But the *Marques* bequeathed a legacy to future seafarers: the race's organizers hope to raise \$50,000 for a *Marques* Foundation that will train other young sailors to brave and conquer the realm that Lord Byron called "the image of Eternity." —By Richard Stengel. Reported by Kevin Stevenson/Hamilton

Two of the doomed ship's life rafts float off the bow of the approaching *Zawisza Czarna*



The lucky few are pulled aboard the rescue ship





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American Notes

TRIALS

The Fat Man's Song

In the old joke, the opera is not over until the fat lady sings. In the trial of John De Lorean for conspiracy to distribute cocaine, one courtroom observer noted last week. "It all comes down to the fat man." The fat man is James Timothy Hoffman, the Government informant who helped orchestrate the videotaped hotel-room negotiations in October 1982 that are key to the Government's charges against De Lorean. Defense Lawyer



De Lorean leaving court

Howard Weitzman, having rattled a previous Government witness, predicted confidently, "I'm going to chop Hoffman up into little pieces."

After 14 days on the stand in Los Angeles, however, Hoffman was still unchopped. He gave lengthy testimony and shot off an occasional "Incorrect" or "That's not what I said" when he thought Weitzman was misleading him. Above all he was candid. Why had he become a Government informer? "To stay out of jail." Hadn't he evaded income taxes for seven years? "Yes." At one point Hoffman became so eloquent that even the most skeptical onlookers were impressed. Money was of course a factor in his Government work, he allowed, but so was "the small amount of respect" he received from the agents who directed him. "I enjoyed the feeling of doing something that was worthwhile."

CRIME

Stick-'Em-Ups Head Down

The figures that the Justice Department plans to announce this week seemed so surprising that even its own statisticians were skeptical. According to the latest National Crime Survey, the number of personal robberies (muggings and holdups) fell by 18% last year. Checks and rechecks of the figures collected from interviewing 128,000 people in 86,179 households indicated no error.

The survey, an annual Justice Department poll to determine the number of victims of crimes, supplements FBI statistics on crimes that have been reported by law-enforcement agencies. The latest survey showed that property crime, which includes burglary, household larceny and auto theft, dropped 7%. Violent crime was off 8.8%. Overall, there were 36.9 million crime victims in the U.S. in 1983, in contrast with 39.8 million the year before.

One probable factor in the decline was a decrease in the percentage of the population between 14 and 24 years old. That group commits a disproportionate number of crimes. Other possible causes are harsher laws and tougher judges imposing more stringent sentences. But that added up to another fact of American life: state and federal prison populations increased in 1983 by 24,000, to a record high of 438,830.

CONGRESS

A Sobering Debate

The statistics are stark. Drivers 18 to 20 are twice as likely to be involved in alcohol-related accidents as other age groups. Consequently, the House voted last week to cut federal highway funds for any state that does not set 21 as its minimum legal drinking age. "This is not a problem of states' rights," said New Jersey Democrat James Howard, who sponsored the legislation. "It is a problem of human lives."

If the provision becomes law, the 29 states that still allow those under 21 to buy beer, wine or hard liquor would be given two years to change their laws, or face a loss of up to 15% in federal highway funds. Opponents argue that this would unfairly restrict the vast majority of college-age students because a small minority of their peers use alcohol irresponsibly. "It is a form of discrimination against young people," said Florida Republican Bill McCollum. These issues will now be debated in the Senate, which is considering proposals similar to the one passed by the House.

THE MILITARY

Uncle Sam Wants You, Fido

First it was the Marine Corps advertising for "a few good men." Now the Air Force Security Training Command is getting in step with a newspaper campaign in search of "a few good dogs." Their duties: serving as guard dogs and as sniffers in the search for terrorist bombs and drugs.

The payoff for a lifetime hitch is \$400, not to the dog but to its owner. The Government does not, of course, discriminate between males and females, but equal-opportunity laws are bypassed when it comes to breeding: recruitment is limited to such watchful species as German shepherds and Rotweilers. The "military working dogs" are shipped to Texas for basic training at Lackland Air Force Base, where they learn obedience, mauling, snarling, sniffing and other suitable skills. In the new armed forces, the routine is hardly a dog's life. An animal psychologist is on hand if basic training becomes too tough.



On duty at the dog center

ENCOUNTERS

A Senator Tries to Explain



Senator Jepsen

Leisure Spa offered "nude modeling, nude encounters and nude rap sessions" to men who would pay a \$10 membership fee—tipping extra, naturally. So what was Roger Jepsen, staunch promoter of traditional family values, doing there on March 15, 1977? Jepsen, now a Republican Senator from Iowa, had many explanations last week. It was, he said, "a moment of weakness." He dropped in thinking the spa was a legitimate health club, he contended, and left in a few minutes after discovering what was really being offered for sale—though he did sign an application. Anyway, the visit occurred half a year before he became a born-again Christian and 20 months before his election to the Senate. Then, too, he and his wife Dee "have made no secret that our lives and our marriage have gone through some rocky times." According to the Senator, the fact that his application, confiscated in a police raid two months after his visit, was publicized by an Iowa radio station at this time points to "character assassination . . . by forces which seek my defeat for re-election." Democratic Congressman Tom Harkin is already running well ahead of Jepsen in the polls. Since a shift of six seats would give control of the Senate to the Democrats, Jepsen's problems are important to the calculations of both parties.

World

SUMMITRY

A Most Exclusive Club

Reagan's European trip ends with a show of harmony and a shower of words

There was plenty of pomp and cordiality, all part of the now familiar ritual of summitry. Of substance, there was much less to record. Open disharmony was almost unthinkable, leaving little to disturb the elevated camaraderie that dominated three days of meetings as the leaders of the major non-Communist industrialized nations (the U.S., Japan, West Germany, France, Britain, Italy and Canada) gathered last week for their tenth annual economic summit meeting. The sessions at London's pillared, flag-bedecked Lancaster House were just the kind of success that the host, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, had hoped they would be. "Blessed is he that expecteth nothing," she had intoned at a pre-summit press conference. "For he shall not be disappointed."

For Ronald Reagan, that blessed nothing was still quite something. As Thatcher also emphasized, the London meeting was not intended as a "crisis summit" but as a session aimed at nurturing global economic recovery. From Washington's point of view, the London meeting might have been dubbed the Re-Election Summit. It capped a ten-day presidential tour that began with Reagan's nostalgic visit to ancestral soil in Ireland and continued with a highly photogenic appearance on the beaches of Normandy for the 40th anniversary of the D-day landings (see following story).

Minor political discomforts sprang up



Kohl, Reagan and Shultz huddle

along the way, notably a few vociferous objections in Ireland to the Administration's policies in Central America. But throughout the trip, Reagan stressed the themes that are central to his re-election campaign and that he hoped to impress upon his fellow leaders: Chief among them: that after nearly four years of Reagan's leadership, the world is firmly headed for "peace and prosperity."

Outside the amiable confines of Lan-

caster House, there were plenty of international issues to occupy the seven leaders' attention. One was the Iran-Iraq war, even if the fear of a closure of the Persian Gulf had momentarily abated. The West Europeans, Canadians and Japanese expressed concern over the unprecedented U.S. budget deficit and rising U.S. interest rates. Privately, all the leaders except Reagan are worried that U.S. economic conditions could abort international economic recovery and add to the dangers posed by the Third World's towering debt. The West Europeans also had to weigh their actions at the summit carefully in view of this week's elections for the European Parliament. Above all, there was the deplorable state of East-West relations, epitomized by the Soviet boycott of the Los Angeles Olympics and the surly and frustrated utterances that emerged from the Kremlin almost daily.

Reagan raised the East-West issue at nearly every opportunity. In Dublin, he gave a new answer to a longstanding Soviet proposal that the superpowers sign a pledge not to use force to settle international disputes. In the past, the U.S. has dismissed the idea as meaningless, since the notion is already embodied in the Charter of the United Nations. Reagan told the Irish parliament that "if discussions on reaffirming the principle . . . will bring the Soviet Union to negotiate agreements which will give concrete new meaning to that principle, we will gladly



The leaders: West Germany's Kohl, Italy's Craxi, Nakasone, Reagan, Thatcher, Mitterrand, Canada's Trudeau and Thorn



Open disharmony was almost unthinkable: leaders of the seven most important non-Communist industrial nations get down to business

enter into such discussions." The President also declared that he was "prepared to halt, and even reverse" the deployment of U.S.-built intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Western Europe if the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. could reach a satisfactory arms-control agreement. Those offers were quickly dismissed by the official Soviet news agency TASS as "glib" and "hypocritical." On the Normandy beachhead, Reagan tried again. Said he: "There is no reconciliation we would welcome more than a reconciliation with the Soviet Union."

The President's statements were intended to smother some of the prospects for discord at the summit, and they succeeded. Few of the issues that should have divided the seven leaders were allowed to disturb the tone of the meeting, even though, as the gathering concluded, about 150,000 antinuclear demonstrators marched in London to protest the presence of both Reagan and U.S.-built cruise missiles in Britain. By the end of the meeting, the leaders had summed up their deliberations in a blizzard of generally inoffensive documents: an economic communiqué, a "Declaration on Democratic Values," a statement on East-West relations and arms control, and a pledge to coordinate action against international terrorism. In addition, Summit Host Thatcher, with the backing of the other leaders, issued a call for peaceful settlement of the Iran-Iraq war. If the various declarations ended up reading as if they had been written by a committee, it was because they had been. The seven leaders and their aides labored endlessly, fine-tuning each clause so that, in the end, they could all go home proclaiming that their policies had won the im-

matur of the world's most exclusive club.

Thatcher read the 17-point economic communiqué on Saturday at the City of London's 600-year-old Guildhall. Acknowledging that the West's economies were recovering, the document called for measures that would both create new jobs and spread the benefits of growth. It noted with concern "the growing strain of public expenditure in all our countries," a favorite Reagan and Thatcher theme, but also stressed the need for job creation and training programs. In an oblique criticism of U.S. policy, the communiqué said that high interest rates were making it more difficult for heavily indebted Third World nations to meet their obligations. Among ten specific points of agreement were 1) the need to reduce budget deficits "where necessary," 2) the urgency of helping poorer countries develop industries, 3) the fact that the Third World debt should be addressed on a case-by-case basis, and 4) endorsement of unspecified moves to stabilize the international financial system. Said Thatcher: "So you see, we have not been idle during the last two days."

The Declaration on Democratic Values, which was Thatcher's idea, affirmed the rule of law, restated "our determination to fight hunger and poverty throughout the world" and declared that "international problems and conflicts can and must be resolved through reasoned dialogue and negotiation."

The four-paragraph statement on East-West relations was equally vague. It said that "the first need is for solidarity and resolve among us all." It then stated a determination "to pursue the search for extended political dialogue and long-term

cooperation with the Soviet Union and her allies." Noting that the U.S. "has offered to restart nuclear-arms-control talks anywhere, at any time, without preconditions," it expressed the hope that the Soviet Union "will act in a constructive and positive way."

Recalling Britain's experience when a policewoman was shot and killed from a window of the Libyan embassy last April, Thatcher also pressed for the statement on terrorism. Among other things, it called for consultation and "as far as possible cooperation" in dealing with known terrorists. Privately, summit officials explained that too much publicity would limit the effectiveness of any antiterrorist campaign. They hinted that the leaders had agreed to intelligence activities that were not spelled out in the statement.

Behind that bland language was a tacit assumption of the summit: nothing should occur to inconvenience a leader seeking re-election. That axiom certainly guided Reagan's image makers during his entire European visit. Wherever he went, Reagan treated audiences to large doses of his fabled charm. He met his first challenge at University College in Galway, Ireland, a self-designated nuclear-free zone. While the President stood garbed in a scarlet-and-purple academic gown, preparing to receive an honorary doctor of laws degree, some 2,000 faculty, students and other protesters staged a demonstration about half a mile away. Unperturbed, Reagan displayed his own gift for Irish gab, mixing praise for Irish literature and culture with applause for efforts to find a peaceful solution to the sectarian strife in neighboring Northern Ireland.

Implicitly responding to European fears that he is trigger-happy, Reagan

charged the Soviet Union with mounting "a strong and aggressive military machine that prohibits fundamental freedoms." Then he softened his remarks by declaring that "we seek negotiations with the Soviet Union, but unfortunately we face an empty chair." Reagan's speech was cut short by an unexpected spring hailstorm (immediately dubbed "hail to the chief"); he and Nancy soon retired to the comfort of Ashford Castle, a 78-bedroom French-style chateau set on 500 wooded acres in County Mayo.

The heavy hand of White House public relations was all over Ballyporeen (pop. 350), the Tipperary town where the President's great-grandfather Michael Regan (as the name was then spelled) was christened on Sept. 3, 1829. A crowd of 3,000, including 1,800 members of the press and 1,000 security men, jammed the street in front of the O'Farrell Pub, now known as the Ronald Reagan Lounge. Inside O'Farrell's, White House aides moved the wives of three patrons out of camera range. The reason: Washington's image of a traditional, tweedy Irish pub contained fewer women. Even Reagan seemed unusually wooden as he raised a glass in O'Farrell's with Nancy.

That evening, at a state dinner in Dublin Castle, East-West politics once again came to the fore. In his welcoming toast, Irish Prime Minister Garret FitzGerald declared that "there is an absolute need for dialogue between the superpowers, for the reopening of channels of communication that have become clogged." He also called attention to the President's Central American policies, saying that the Irish want that region's problems "to be resolved peacefully, by the people of the region themselves." Irish feelings about Central America have been aroused by numerous reports from Irish missionaries in the region, most of whom are highly critical of Washington's policy.

Reagan returned to his unaffected best on Monday as he became the second U.S. President (after John F. Kennedy in 1963) to address a joint session of the Irish parliament. While some 5,000 demonstrators snaked through the streets, Reagan made his nonuse-of-force offer to the Soviets. The President remained unfazed as three Irish legislators stalked out of the chamber to protest U.S. policies in El Salvador. Reagan declared that "all the U.S. is trying to do is give the Salvadorans the chance they want for democratic self-determination—without outside interference."

After Reagan's speech, White House aides emphasized that the no-use-of-force offer marked a change in U.S. policy. They said that the "concrete" agreements that the Administration is willing to discuss with Moscow involved



Reagan, Thatcher and their aides dine at 10 Downing Street

such things as the mutual reporting of military maneuvers and the exchange of information on the size and composition of military forces.

Leaving Ireland Monday afternoon, Reagan was greeted by Britain's Thatcher in the Orangery at Kensington Palace, the home of Prince Charles and Princess Diana. The following day the Reagans had what White House officials described as "a relaxed family lunch" with Queen Elizabeth II and Prince Philip at Buckingham Palace. Whenever the Queen and the President get together, Nancy Reagan's press secretary said, they "inevitably talk about horses."

Tuesday evening, Reagan and Thatcher met privately for 70 minutes at 10 Downing Street, where they then dined with senior government officials. East-West relations dominated the private discussion there too. The two leaders shared the view that the Soviets are frustrated because their system has failed to provide better economic opportunities for their people. On the question of how to handle the Soviets, Thatcher and Reagan agreed, according to an American official present at dinner, that "we can make clear that we remain ready to solve problems, and try to get as much increase in exchanges—diplomatically as

well as in terms of people going back and forth—as possible." Thatcher asked Reagan about his chances for re-election. The President's answer: he expected it would be a tough campaign.

The summiteering began in earnest upon Reagan's return to London from Wednesday's Normandy ceremonies. Thursday morning, the President held a series of 35-minute bilateral meetings at Winfield House, the U.S. Ambassador's residence, with his other major summit partners. The meeting with Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone included a general discussion of cooperation in the event of a Persian Gulf oil crisis. According to U.S. Treasury Secretary Donald Regan, the two leaders agreed that "some type of sharing, some type of contingency planning" should ensue. After the meeting, Regan declared that U.S. interest rates were "trending down," despite the fact that the previous day, the outgoing chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, Martin Feldstein, had shocked White House staffers by predicting the opposite.

The summit leaders, along with European Commission President Gaston Thorn, held their first working session together Thursday evening during a dinner at London's St. James's Palace, an octagonal-turreted brick structure built for King Henry VIII. Seated in the Armoury, a second-story room lined with muskets, swords, pikes and other antique weaponry, the summiteers listened as Thatcher broached her notion of the political commune on democratic values. Thatcher felt strongly about the idea. "The Brits are treating this like it's the Magna Carta," said a U.S. official.

The French traditionally oppose political statements at economic summits, but President François Mitterrand agreed to go along. At first, the U.S. wanted the declaration to include a commentary on East-West relations. The idea was dropped after the French objected, and the U.S. proposed the idea of a separate East-West statement. Then summit aides labored until 3 a.m. to produce a draft wording for the Thatcher-inspired values document.

The next day the summit leaders scrutinized the seven paragraphs of the values statement for a full hour and 15 minutes. The socialist French and the conservative British, for example, debated at length over a draft statement that said political and economic freedom are fundamentally interdependent.

At the Friday morning session in Lancaster House, Prime Minister Thatcher set a businesslike tone. Predicting a "great measure of common understanding and agreement" at the summit, she



The Reagans offer a toast in Ballyporeen's celebrated pub



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World

then ticked off a list of conservative economic positions as the basis of unity for the leaders. Among them: that a strategy of economic recovery based on public-sector restraint and limited monetary growth "is the right one, and we intend to stick to it." Thatcher tossed in a plug for one of her favorite topics, "adapting our societies to an unprecedented pace of technological change."

During their deliberations, the summit leaders were forced to give close attention to the international debt issue. All seven heads of government had received a letter from seven major debtor countries (Argentina, Venezuela, Peru, Colombia, Ecuador, Mexico and Brazil) expressing "anxiety," in the words of a British official, and the hope that the debt discussion be given "the right priority." The summit finally came up with a plan that a senior U.S. official said would "reward" debtors who are making "successful efforts to improve their position." The plan includes the notion of extending and improving the terms of debt repayment where local efforts at austerity are being made.

The debt issue also led to the most serious strains of the meeting, when French President Mitterrand declared that "there can be no serious treatment of the debt problem without a lowering of real interest rates." That in turn paved the way for discussion of the U.S. budget deficit. Later, U.S. Treasury Secretary Regan refused to acknowledge a link between the deficit and high interest rates. The outcome in the communiqué was a declaration that high interest rates could threaten recovery, and a call for "prudent monetary and budgetary policies."

The meeting showed how far the concept of summitry has come—or gone—in a decade. The first economic summit took place in November 1975, when French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing came up with the idea of gathering fellow leaders literally around a fireside in the secluded French château of Rambouillet. The only press suite was in the Hotel George V in Paris, about 25 miles away. Something tangible was accomplished: an agreement to change the articles of the International Monetary Fund to accommodate a new economic world of floating exchange rates. Since then, there has been a steady escalation in pomp and politics as successive hosts have tried to use the meetings to serve their political ends.

Last week's costly extravaganza, swollen with hordes of simultaneous translators, government aides and journalists, managed to affirm Western solidarity, and it certainly did no harm to Ronald Regan's chances for re-election. But for all its lofty declarations, it made little progress in finding solutions to the pressing problems the world's major industrial nations face. —By George Russell, Reported by Bonnie Angoto/London and Douglas Brew with the President

The Presidency/Hugh Sidey

The New Style of Exposure

In this era of world leadership, the metal detector is the altar and the minicam may be god.

In just 20 years, terrorism, communications, the jet plane and the increase of wealth and knowledge have forced, to varying degrees, world leaders into a haunted and secret peirage whose links with the people they guide are meticulously cleansed and staged. All of them lament this fact, from the Pope to the Prince of Wales, and none more than Ronald Regan on his Old World pilgrimage, but they know their new age of isolation is nevertheless a stark fact of life.

The old order may have reached its zenith with John Kennedy's trip to Ireland in 1963. We just did not understand what was happening then. Kennedy rode through multitudes in an open car. He stood on the quay at New Ross from where his great-grandfather sailed for Boston, hugging and laughing with anybody who came, even shabby, unshaven figures who emerged unsteadily from the pubs to hail the visitor.

The small crowd allowed through security lines in Regan's ancestral Ballyporeen was thoroughly infiltrated by security agents, both men and women dressed as camera-toting tourists. In the Ronald Reagan Lounge, John O'Farrell, an entrepreneurial genius, proprietor of O'Farrell's Pub, posed with his family as cast. They were positioned and tutored for pictures, including four-week-old Catherine Nancy O'Farrell, named for Mrs. Regan. It was duly reported that a man in a cloth cap was ushered in as "a solitary representative of the plain people of Ballyporeen."



Traveling with ease: Kennedy visits Galway in 1963

Kennedy's motorcade inched into Dublin with thousands of swirling fans around him, the young President's profile etched in the afternoon sun. Regan helicoptered from a secluded airport corner to his house in Phoenix Park; the streets of Dublin were nearly deserted.

But just as staid as the Regan spectacle were the protests that helped to produce the President's protective script. The "ring around Regan" of at least 5,000 marching Dubliners condemning Regan's foreign policy played to television cameras. The Catholic prelates who snubbed Regan in Ireland sought headlines, not answers. The 1,800 journalists who descended on Ballyporeen outnumbered the village's entire population more than 5 to 1.

And yet during all of this plotted pageantry through Ireland and the commemoration of D-day in Normandy came images of true affection, understanding and meaning. Beamed to an estimated 300 million people around the world, that may be a fair trade-off for the lost intimacy.

The future may bring even more changes for ceremonial visits and leadership councils like the London economic summit. Many events are already covered through "pool" arrangements, in which a small group of reporters is selected to represent and report back to the rest of the press corps. There may have to be more of that, because hard-pressed countries and communities can scarcely afford the millions of dollars and man-hours necessary to protect a leader as well as cope with a huge entourage.

It might be less fun for those folks who seem to relish the story of security agents and protective apparatus as much as what Presidents and Prime Ministers do and say. No more yarns about "the sinister black briefcase" carrying nuclear codes, or the "android image" of the Secret Service, or how agents switch revolver style when they change clothes from casual (Smith & Wesson Model 10) to formal (Walther PPK), or the press "baying for names and quotes." Unfortunately, the prose that would result would be far more prosaic. The sense of pomp and ceremony and history would be sacrificed. But by taking refuge in an electronic cocoon, those who run the world might be able to travel through it more quickly, quietly and safely.



Canada's Trudeau, Queen Beatrix of The Netherlands, King Olav V of Norway, King Baudouin of the Belgians, Mitterrand, Queen Elizabeth II, Grand Duke Jean of Luxembourg, Reagan



At Pointe du Hoc, the Reagans visit a German bunker and two Rangers describe their ascent

World

Tributes and Tears

"We owe them what we are today"

Forty summers ago, they had sailed in the dark through howling winds and driving rain and later seen the sea behind them turn crimson with blood. Last week they arrived by bus and chartered plane, and the waves were calm, the heavens benign. The serene afternoon perfectly suited their mission: they had come to the windswept bluffs and lonely beaches of Normandy to encounter long-lost friends and to mourn those lost forever.

More than 4,000 veterans of D-day joined 6,000 other guests at Utah Beach last Wednesday, on the invasion's 40th anniversary. As the heads of state of eight wartime allies looked on, color guards slowly hoisted flags up eight tall poles, and eight national anthems rang out across the hazy air. At sea, where eight gray battleships idly drifted, the French destroyer *Montcalm* let off a 21-gun salute, and eight French Alpha jets roared through the sky, leaving

red, white and blue trails of smoke.

Stepping forward to deliver the gathering's only speech, French President François Mitterrand gallantly stressed that "the enemy of that time was not Germany but the power, the system, the ideology that held Germany in its grip." Mitterrand went on to applaud "the heroism of the Russian people." His main purpose, however, was to give thanks to the 10,000 Allied soldiers who lost their lives on D-day while helping to deliver France from captivity. "We owe them what we are today," said Mitterrand, "and I sometimes ask myself if we have ever paid them back all that we owe."

Yet amid the flawless pageantry, last Wednesday was, at heart, a day for silence and solitary reflection. Gray-haired by now, or balding, or round of girth, most of the returning veterans chose to observe their own private rituals of remembrance. During the long hours of waiting, they





could be seen reminiscing with buddies, or recounting their deeds to wives and children and children's children, or simply gazing out to sea. Charles H. Sullivan, who had been a medic in the 29th Infantry Division, could only marvel at the dizzying sea of white crosses and Stars of David at Omaha Beach, where 9,386 G.I.s are buried. "If anything of this kind has to exist," he said, his eyes filled with tears, "this is about as fine a tribute as they could create."

Fine tributes came too from President Reagan at Pointe du Hoc, a rugged promontory jutting into the English Channel. Soon after dawn on D-day, 225 U.S. Rangers began to scale the sheer cliffs, inching upward under a hail of murderous gunfire; after two days of combat, only 90 could still fight. Last week 62 Rangers returned to the site. "These are the boys of Pointe du Hoc," read the President. "These are the champions who helped free a continent." Some of the men being congratulated for their toughness had to take off their glasses to brush away tears.

After the speech, the President and



Bright ceremonies on a beach once littered with bodies

his wife gamely descended into a German bunker, then flew to the American cemetery above Omaha Beach. Walking alone arm in arm among the geometrically perfect rows of graves, they paid silent homage to the American dead. At the grave of an unknown soldier, the First Lady placed some flowers; later she laid a spray of carnations and blue irises at the tombstone of Brigadier General Theodore Roosevelt Jr., the son of his presidential namesake, who landed on Utah Beach with the 4th Infantry Division and died of a heart attack one month later.

Then, before 2,000 people at the Omaha Beach memorial, the President read

from a letter sent to him by Lisa Zanatta Henn, 28, of Millbrae, Calif. Many years ago, Peter Robert Zanatta of the 37th Engineer Combat Battalion had told his little girl that he would one day return to Normandy. After he died of cancer, his daughter vowed to make the pilgrimage on his behalf. "I'm going there, Dad," she wrote in the letter Reagan read, "and I'll see the beaches and the barricades and the monuments." As the President read, his voice began to crack. "I'll see the graves, and I'll put flowers there just like you wanted to do. I'll never forget what you went through, Dad, nor will I let anyone else forget. And, Dad, I'll always be proud."

By then, the President's eyes were red, and he could barely continue reading. Near him was Lisa, who wept openly. Afterward, the First Couple, still shaken, boarded their helicopter and flew to Utah Beach. In the end, pride and tears seemed the sweetest memorial to the fallen, and the most eloquent way of saying goodbye.

—By Pico Iyer.

Reported by Thomas A. Sancton/Normandy and Barrett Seaman with the President

Feeling the Stigma

For most West Germans, no matter what their age, the pomp surrounding the 40th anniversary of the Normandy landings came as a painful reminder that even after 35 years as a democratic country, the Federal Republic is not regarded in quite the same way as other West European nations. The D-day ceremonies posed a dilemma for West Germans. They would have liked to be part of a commemoration, but they could hardly be—and were not—expected to join in the celebration of what was for them a historic defeat. On the other hand, as key members of NATO, they could not ignore an occasion that brought together the major Allies in an event that was televised across Europe and reported in detail on every front page. Rightly or wrongly, West Germans were made to feel the stigma of a Nazi era that for many of them is as remote as Kaiser Wilhelm II.

On the level of pure military history, West Germany observed the occasion much as its erstwhile enemies did. Television devoted hours to round-table discussions about what happened. D-day veterans talked about the confusion among commanders and the contradictory orders that flowed from German headquarters. Historian Hans-Adolf Jacobsen told the viewers that a major German failure in 1944 lay in bad intelligence: the Allied invaders were expected to strike in the Pas-de-Calais, not in Normandy. Stuttgart Mayor Manfred Rommel, whose father Field Marshal Erwin Rommel commanded the German Atlantic defenses, called D-day "one of the various great defeats in German history." But Rommel felt no sense of slight. Reminding West Germans that "it was better to lose the war with

Hitler than to win it with Hitler," he said, "I think it's quite in order that the Allies have their celebration."

Not all his countrymen shared that assessment. What grated most strongly perhaps was the perception that the commemoration stressed the notion of victory rather than the theme of postwar friendship. Though a number of newspaper editorials pointed to the absence of anything resembling a vindictive tone in the ceremonies, Alois Mertes, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, suggested that the celebrations "could make the German people feel alienated, vanquished and guilty," something that might "give impetus to pacifists and neutralists who are seeking a special German role between East and West."

Chancellor Helmut Kohl, who was 14 in 1944, had earlier denied reports that he officially sought to be included in the Normandy gathering. According to his aides, however, he had indicated to French President François Mitterrand last February that in the spirit of reconciliation, he would not mind being present. Mitterrand shrugged off the hint, and Kohl swallowed the rejection. Said Kohl last week: "The German Chancellor has no reason to celebrate when others celebrate a victory in battle that cost 10,000 German soldiers their lives." Neither Bonn nor the West German public took much comfort from a French compromise whereby, on June 8, French and German officials honored German soldiers killed during the first 24 hours of the landing.

Hundreds of West Germans called in to protest the coverage of the Normandy celebrations. Said a spokeswoman for one TV network: "Many of the callers were abusive, and most of them were male, many former soldiers. The callers said we should forget all about this talk of European unity when the victors get together among themselves to celebrate."



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Armed Sikhs defiantly crowd the roof of their holiest shrine before the bloody assault: "Let them come. We will give them battle"

World

INDIA

Slaughter at the Golden Temple

Mrs. Gandhi risks her future in an attack on Sikh extremists

The elegant marble-floored courtyard of the gilded Golden Temple in Amritsar was strewn with bodies and blood. The once serene and peaceful 72-acre temple complex, the holiest shrine of the Sikh religion, stood scarred and bruised after 36 hours of fierce fighting between militant Sikhs and Indian government troops. In sweltering heat and the dust of the battle's aftermath, black crows and vultures perched on the temple's balustrades in search of grisly carrion. For the first time in the 400-year history of the Golden Temple, the 24-hour prayer vigil had ceased.

The most fanatical leader of Sikh extremists, Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, 37, who had provoked the violence, lay among the dead. Just weeks before, he had vowed to defend to the death his supporters' demands for increased religious and political autonomy. "Let them come," he had said. "We will give them battle. If die we must, then we will take many of them with us."

In ordering her troops to storm the temple, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi took her biggest political gamble since she declared a national emergency in 1975. Last week's decision could add to the turmoil of a nation already torn by violence.

Some Indian commentators voiced fears for the future of the world's largest democracy. "What happened inside the Golden Temple is a turning point in India's modern history," said the eminent Sikh historian Khushwant Singh. But Mrs. Gandhi apparently felt she had no choice but to attack. Bhindranwale and his followers had stockpiled guns, rifles, antitank missiles, rocket launchers, hand grenades and mortars inside the temple, in grim contrast to the shrine's jewel-like chambers and cupolas. The defenders' stiff resistance ended in slaughter: 259 Sikhs and 59 soldiers killed, an additional 90 Sikhs and 110 soldiers

wounded. Unofficial figures placed the dead at more than a thousand.

At week's end the violence had not yet subsided, and the Indian army extended its 24-hour curfew in most of the northwestern state of Punjab. Several hundred Bhindranwale loyalists who had managed to escape the siege of the temple continued to wage hit-and-run attacks against troops in Amritsar. They also looted shops, set fires and killed civilians. An additional 100 Sikh extremists surfaced in Rajasthan, a state near the Pakistani border, where they called upon Sikh members of the army to rebel. Some of them did defect, while other Sikhs apparently donned army uniforms in an attempt to infiltrate and disrupt the front-line troops that shield India against potential attacks from its bitter enemy, Pakistan. The rebellion was swiftly quashed.

The besieged temple, rising from an artificial lake in Amritsar



Agitation by both moderate and extremist Sikh factions over the past two years had brought violence in Punjab to alarming levels. In the past four months alone, more than 300 people had died in Sikh-inspired violence. At the same time, tensions from last month's rioting among Hindus and Muslims in Bombay had built to such a degree that politicians began questioning Mrs. Gandhi's control over the country. There was speculation that further instability could cause her governing Congress (I) Party to suffer a serious setback in the national elections scheduled to be held by next January.

Sikh outrage at the assault on the temple echoed throughout India and around the world. Ignoring curfew laws, hundreds of Sikhs rioted in Punjab; they also caused havoc in a number of Indian cities. In New Delhi angry Sikhs demanded Bhindranwale's body for cremation and vowed to keep his legend alive. "If one Bhindranwale dies," Sikhs at a New Delhi demonstration shouted, "a thousand are born." Two militants brandishing swords attacked the Indian consulate in Vancouver, Canada, leaving it a shambles. Security was increased around Indian missions in the U.S., Canada, Britain, West Germany, The Netherlands and Denmark, where there are significant Sikh populations.

The crisis came to a head when, in an effort to press home its demands for religious and regional autonomy, the Sikhs' Akali Dal Party announced that it would begin to block grain shipments to the rest of India from Punjab, which is the nation's breadbasket. The action would have cut off 65% of the country's crucial grain reserves, threatening widespread famine.

Three days before the attack, Mrs. Gandhi made an urgent appeal on national radio and television to all Sikhs to end their agitation. She outlined a framework for a settlement. "Let us sit around the table and find a solution," she pleaded. She had already agreed to most of the Sikh demands for religious autonomy and was willing to amend the constitution to distinguish Sikhs from Hindus. But Mrs. Gandhi felt that if she gave in to the Sikh demand for political autonomy, she would risk a Hindu backlash.

On Sunday the government ordered a 24-hour curfew, and told all journalists and photographers to leave Punjab (Authorities later confiscated the film of those who had refused to comply.) Roads across the state borders and the airports were closed, trains and buses stopped running, and telephone and telegraph wires were cut. The usually thriving Punjab came to a halt, cut off from the rest of the world. About 4,000 government troops surrounded the Golden Temple and ordered out the 3,000 Sikhs who live there, as well as the crowds that enter daily for worship. Many heeded the warnings, but 1,000 extremists defiantly remained inside the temple.

Bhindranwale held out in what is described as "the throne of the timeless" in the temple's basement. His loyal followers took up positions they had been fortifying for months with sandbags, steel armor and bricks. When army troops fi-



Prime Minister Indira Gandhi



Sikh Militant Bhindranwale

nally stormed the defenses Tuesday evening, they met heavy resistance from rockets and machine-gun fire. Pinned down by a far superior, better-armed force than they anticipated, army troops called for reinforcements of tanks and artillery. After six hours, the machine guns fell silent and army sharpshooters closed in, backed up by troops with bayonets. When army troops finally stormed the basement, they found the bullet-riddled bodies of Bhindranwale and his two top lieutenants.

Bhindranwale's death was in the proud, warring tradition of Sikhism. The religion was founded in the 15th century as a monotheistic synthesis of Hinduism and Islam. Sikhs believe in having a direct, personal relationship with God, rejecting Hindu idolatry and the caste system. True Sikhs do not smoke, and the men do not cut their beards or hair, believing that spiritual power flows through long hair. India's 15 million Sikhs are known for being ambitious, hardworking and hospitable.

Their *gurdwaras*, or holy places, throughout India offer free lodging and food for any traveler who happens by.

Industrious and ambitious, the Sikhs have turned Punjab, one of the few areas in which they form a majority, into a model of agricultural efficiency, thereby helping make India self-sufficient in wheat. Sikh politicians are demanding economic improvements from the central government, such as higher wheat prices and more investment in Punjab. Some Sikhs want a form of regional autonomy that would give to Punjab authority in all areas of state government except currency, railways, communications and defense. Others want the city of Chandigarh, which is also the capital of the neighboring Hindu state of Haryana, to be designated exclusively as Punjab's political capital.

The defiant and charismatic Bhindranwale, known to his followers as "the guiding light," emerged in 1978 as the most radical of the Sikh leaders. He possessed a mythic sense of his own destiny and claimed from an early age that he was fated to lead the Sikhs in their struggle for autonomy. Gradually distancing himself from the more moderate Akali Dal, Bhindranwale began in 1981 to use holy places as sanctuaries and military training grounds for Sikh fundamentalists rallying around him. The tall, lean leader always wore a sword as well as a .38 Smith & Wesson revolver on a gun belt with silver bullets. He preached that Sikhs were a religious group apart from Hindus and Muslims, with a divine destiny to rule themselves and escape the corrupt influences of Hindu and Western values.

By ordering the assault on the temple, Mrs. Gandhi has placated critics who accused her of dangerous inaction on Sikh terrorism. But she has seriously harmed her standing with moderate Sikhs who did not support Bhindranwale's fanaticism although they revered the Golden Temple as a shrine of peace. "I don't understand why Mrs. Gandhi gave the order," said Historian Singh. "We had been given assurances that there would never be an armed intervention, but they have gone back on their word. No serious Sikh can entertain thoughts of talking to Mrs. Gandhi now." Only through cautious maneuvering and concessions to moderate Sikhs, it seems, can Mrs. Gandhi hope to heal the wounds left by last week's attack and preserve, indeed strengthen, her country's unity. —By Laura López, Reported by Dean Breils/New Delhi

One of Bhindranwale's bodyguards lies wounded inside the temple



World



THE GULF

Pushing the Saudis Too Far

Iran loses a plane, and the war takes an ominous turn

When the two Iranian F-4 fighter planes flew over Saudi Arabian territorial waters last week, they seemed to set the stage for yet another attack on a tanker doing business with Iran's sworn enemy, Iraq. But this time the story was different: the planes were intercepted by two Saudi F-15 fighters firing air-to-air missiles. One, and possibly both, of the Iranian planes was shot down. A short time later, Iran sent eleven more F-4s into the skies over the Persian Gulf. Again, the Saudis intercepted them. After a brief standoff, the Iranian planes withdrew.

The engagement signaled an important change in the 45-month-old war between Iran and Iraq. Until now, the Saudis have made every effort to stay out of the war, even though they have given Iraq billions of dollars for weaponry. They have refused to fire back at Iranian planes that for the past month have flown into Saudi airspace in response to Iraq's efforts to choke off Iranian oil exports by firing at tankers using Iran's oil ports. As a result, Iran has been able to count on a big advantage: the determination of Saudi Arabia and the smaller gulf states to stay out of the conflict. Now, it appears, the Saudi policy of non-confrontation with Iran no longer prevails.

Even so, the Saudis made it clear that they had fired their missiles more in sorrow than in anger. Said Prince Bandar ibn Sultan, the Saudi Ambassador to the U.S.: "Our sovereignty was violated and we reacted, as we said we would all along, in a defensive manner. We think it is a pity we

had to be dragged into this conflict."

The Saudi-Iranian encounter came during a relative lull in the fighting. At least two more ships were hit during the week. Iraqi Super Etendards swooped down on the Turkish tanker *Buyuk Hun* in the vicinity of the Iranian oil terminal at Kharg Island (see box). The ship was set ablaze and had to be abandoned, but its crew was rescued. At week's end Iraq also claimed its warplanes had hit two "naval targets," otherwise unidentified, near Kharg Island, but the attacks could not be confirmed.

Unable to ship their own oil through the besieged gulf, the Iraqis are desperate to find an alternative route that will allow them to replenish their war-drained treasury. It was learned last week that a suggestion had come from an unexpected source: the Israelis. In an interview with the Israeli newspaper *Ma'ariv*, Prime

Minister Yitzhak Shamir revealed that he had offered to let Iraq pump its oil through a long-unused pipeline, built in the 1930s, that stretches from Baghdad to the Israeli port of Haifa. Iraq, which does not recognize Israel, rejected the invitation.

Because of the growing risk to shipping, the U.S. Navy acknowledged that it had begun to provide protection for tankers charged to supply fuel for the American naval ships patrolling the gulf. The Reagan Administration is prepared to extend air and naval cover to other vessels if the tanker war should worsen. Under the plan, the U.S. would establish a sort of naval *cordon sanitaire* along the western channel of the gulf, through which ships from nonbelligerent nations destined for neutral ports would be escorted. No ships carrying arms or supplies for the warring countries would be included.

In the meantime, both Iran and Iraq bombed civilian targets on the ground. Iraq mounted a raid on the northern Iranian border town of Baneh, killing several hundred people who had gathered to celebrate the anniversary of the 1963 riots against the Shah. In response, Iran sent

shells crashing into Iraq's beleaguered port of Basra; Iraq retaliated by hitting the Iranian oil city of Dezful with a single missile, killing twelve people. Some observers thought the activity was a prelude to another, long-awaited "human wave" offensive by Iran, a view reinforced by a declaration of Ayatullah Ruhollah Khomeini that last Tuesday would be remembered as "an epic day." But the day passed without any sign of the Iranian offensive.

According to some reports from Tehran, the ayatullahs favor an offensive along the entire 700-mile border. The Iranian military thinks that such a drive would be suicidal, but it may take place



Saudi fighter pilots go over checklist in Riyadh

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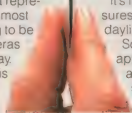
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Anywhere hard shadows can make good pictures look bad.

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And of course you get sharp, clear images. Our sonar

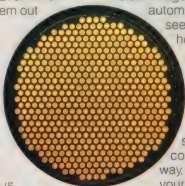
automatic-focusing sees (actually, hears) to that.

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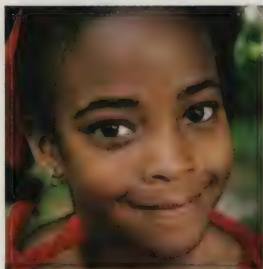
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World

anyway. As of late last week, U.S. satellite information suggested that Iran still needed a few days in which to complete its preparations for such an onslaught.

If it comes, it will be met by some highly sophisticated Iraqi weaponry. According to accounts from Baghdad, the Soviet Union has supplied Iraq with air-to-surface missiles capable of hitting Kharg Island and other targets deep within Iran. The Iraqis reportedly also have received the Soviet SS-12 missile, which has a range of 500 miles, as well as 5,000 cluster bombs from Chile.

It was in this highly charged atmosphere last week that Saudi Arabia finally, and reluctantly, fought back. Despite their arsenal of 130 sophisticated aircraft, including 60 American-made F-15s, the Saudis had been thought to be fearful of provoking Iran into a wider war and uneasy about the ability of their own inexperienced pilots.

According to U.S. officials, the two Iranian F-4 Phantom jets, which were supplied to Iran by the U.S. in the days of the Shah, took off from their base at Bushire shortly before noon last Tuesday. On the prow for likely naval targets, they flew down the gulf near the Saudi island of Al Arabiyah, where they ran straight into a patrol of Saudi F-15 planes. High-flying U.S. AWACS planes had tracked the Iranian jets across the gulf, then Saudi coastal radar picked them up when they came within range. With the Saudi technician aboard the AWACS plane relaying information and guiding his own fighters, the two Saudi F-15s intercepted the less-advanced F-4s, and the fight took place.

The U.S. was relieved that the Saudis had met the challenge. The Reagan Administration had evoked considerable congressional resentment two weeks ago by using its emergency powers to rush 400

Stinger missiles to Saudi Arabia. But it was not prepared to do the same for Kuwait, a gulf state with which the U.S. has had frequent disagreements. Though Kuwait's refineries and desalination plants are painfully exposed, the White House turned down Kuwait's request to buy 500 Stingers.

If the week's most significant event had been the strengthening of Saudi resolve, the inevitable corollary was that this would encourage the Iranians to strike harder elsewhere. The ayatollahs are simply not ready to give up until they have destroyed Iraqi President Saddam Hussein. Says a senior army officer in Tehran: "Military capabilities and options are being examined and re-examined every day. But from the clergy there is not even a hint of the possibility of peace."

—By William E. Smith.

Reported by Barry Hillenbrand/Jidda and Johanna McGeary/Washington

Tense Trip to Kharg

Photographer Catherine Leroy, on assignment for TIME, recently spent seven days on a supertanker as it plied the perilous waters of the Persian Gulf to take on 260,000 tons of crude oil at the Iranian oil depot at Kharg Island. The Swedish-built ship, which is owned by Americans and registered in Liberia, is currently chartered by a Japanese firm to carry its cargo to Europe. At the request of the ship's owners, TIME agreed not to identify their vessel. Leroy's report:

Only a few of the 24 Taiwanese crew members spoke English, but there is one thing that communicates itself easily: fear. The ship's owner had said that it would be good for the crew to have a woman on board because it would "give them courage." The captain, Chu Ching, 39, has made ten trips to Kharg Island in the past year and was going back this time because he would earn a \$5,000 bonus. "Dangerous? That is nonsense," he said stoically. "Nothing will happen to me."

But once we were in Iranian waters, the fear became apparent. The trip from Fujairah to Sirri Island takes 20 hours, and the trip to Kharg at the northern end of the gulf another 27. We waited twelve hours at Sirri before the Iranians gave us permission to leave at a time when they felt the risk was lowest. At dinner that night the mood was somber, and people were silent. You could feel the tension growing. Everyone seemed to share the terrible feeling that, at twelve knots, we were going very slowly.

The night passed without incident. By mid-afternoon the next day, Kharg Island was in sight. About three miles out, the captain confiscated all cameras on board, explaining that no one is allowed to photograph the island. "If you take pictures, it is my life you are endangering," he said. The light

was magnificent, and you could see the high white cliffs of Kharg, with tankers in the distance. I kept telling myself what a beautiful picture I was missing.

We stayed a day at Kharg while the tanker was being loaded. That night, as usual, we listened to the BBC and the Voice of America in the captain's cabin. It did nothing for our nerves to hear a BBC report that our ship had supposedly been hit. Later, an Iranian official paid us a visit, accompanied by three Islamic guards in military fatigues. I was dressed in black, but the Iranians insisted that a veil of some sort be found for me. There was nothing suitable on board.

Finally, the captain rushed to his bathroom and returned with a white bath towel, which I had to struggle to keep over my head during the interview. When asked what Iran would do if Iraq destroyed Kharg Island, as it has threatened to do if faced with an Iranian ground offensive, our visitor said, "They don't understand the power we have. It is the power of God."

When we left the next day, an Iranian tugboat followed us for 50 miles. The fully loaded ship rode low on the sea. On deck, the captain and a few officers were silent and unsmiling as they searched the horizon with binoculars. "I know if anything happens, there will be panic among the crew," Captain Chu Ching said.

If we had been hit, it would have taken no more than 30 minutes for the tugboat to reach us. Tankers are usually hit in the engine area, but because the Exocet missiles used by Iraq do not have a powerful explosive force, a ship is not likely to explode or sink rapidly. The big fear is that the oil will catch fire and trap everyone on a burning sea.

We made it back to Fujairah safely. As I left the ship, the captain said that he would be ready to go back to Iran in a month. That night I heard that a Turkish vessel we had passed on the return trip had been attacked by an Iraqi jet as it approached Kharg Island.



Alert to danger, a ship's officer peers into the gulf



Threatened by hunger, disease and their own army: Guatemalan refugees in Chiapas

MEXICO

Borderline

Guatemalan exiles stir tension

Mexico, the source of an annual flow of about 3 million people to the U.S., faces its own "silent invasion" of illegal immigrants. Over the past four years, 100,000 Guatemalans have fled their country to settle in the south Mexican state of Chiapas. The influx has caused serious tensions with Guatemala, brutally reminding Mexico that it cannot remain immune to the violence and instability that pervade Central America. To alleviate the problem, the Mexican government last week began to move 4,500 refugees from camps in the border area to federal lands in Campeche, some 120 miles to the north.

The influx began in 1980, when the Guatemalan government of President Fernando Romeo Lucas Garcia intensified its campaign to wipe out leftist guerrillas based in the mountains of Huehuetenango and Quiché. In the process, the army indiscriminately killed thousands of Chuj, Kanjobal and Mam Indians, whom they suspected of supporting the insurgents. Many of those who survived sought sanctuary across the border in Mexico. Some 46,000 of them are now in government-created refugee camps. But, according to Roman Catholic Church authorities, an additional 50,000 Guatemalans are roaming the south Mexican countryside in search of work or hiding out in cities to avoid being caught by the *migra* (immigration authorities).

The Guatemalan government considers the refugee camps, which are several miles from the border, to be staging areas for the guerrillas, a charge that Mexico indignantly denies. Dozens of times over the past four years Guatemalan troops have crossed the border to kill and kidnap refugees. The most recent attack occurred last month, when some 200 Guatemalan soldiers attacked a camp at El Chupadero, four miles north of the border. According

to the examining doctor, four men, a pregnant woman and a six-year-old child were tortured and killed.

To lure the Indians back home, the Guatemalan government has announced plans to build a series of "model villages" that will provide housing, schools and health clinics. "We offer clear guarantees to those who desire to return," President Oscar Humberto Mejia Victores declared at the inauguration of the first model village, Chacaj, last March. But no more than 300 refugees have accepted the offer. Most remain skeptical of the regime's intentions: they note that returning families must register with the army and answer questions about why they left and where they went.

The Mexicans have only grudgingly accepted the refugees into Chiapas, one of the country's poorest regions. The government has allowed them to stay because mass deportations would harm Mexico's reputation as a haven for exiles.

Many of the Indians who fled to Mexico do not speak Spanish. Conditions in the camps are such that they continually suffer from malnutrition, tuberculosis and gastrointestinal disease. Mexican officials have been known to beat, rape or otherwise abuse the refugees; often the officials extort bribes in exchange for a promise not to send refugees back across the border. Landowners pay Guatemalans \$1 a day for their labor, vs. a Mexican minimum daily wage of \$3.80.

The first refugees to arrive at their new home in Campeche last week found inadequate housing and almost no water. Being accustomed to breezy higher altitudes, they worried about whether they could survive in Campeche's torrid jungle. Conditions were so bad that a group of Mexico's Catholic bishops condemned the transfer, saying that the refugees were being "abandoned to their luck." The Mexican government responded by naming a new director for the agency responsible for refugees, its third in two years. The move was not expected to ease the problem. ■

CENTRAL AMERICA

Serving Notice

Three neighbors react

The 150 or so women, most of them dressed in black, stood outside the gates of the presidential palace in San Salvador waving signs adorned with pictures of relatives. It was one more demonstration by those whose loved ones are listed as missing but are widely assumed to have been killed by the country's death squads. Last Wednesday, however, José Napoleón Duarte left his office and plunged into the mob of weeping women, leaving his bodyguards scrambling. As the women tugged at his sleeves, Duarte promised that the cases would be investigated. He then stroled back to his office, shouts of "¡Viva Duarte!" echoing behind him.

It was an auspicious moment in the first week of El Salvador's new President. Constantly asked by reporters about promised reforms ("Give me a few weeks, please," he said in general exasperation), Duarte seemed intent on moving cautiously. However, he did order an



Duarte

eleven-member military commission to open an inquiry into the 1980 assassination of Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero. Meanwhile, Roberto d'Aubuisson, Duarte's rightist rival in last month's elections, who was once accused by former U.S. ambassador to El Salvador Robert White of

plotting Romero's murder, received a visa to visit the U.S. After denying d'Aubuisson permission to enter the country during the past year, the State Department decided that the gesture might persuade the Salvadoran to cooperate with Duarte.

If El Salvador seemed caught up in its internal affairs last week, Honduras and Nicaragua appeared preoccupied with foreign relations. In a veiled rebuke to the U.S., General Walter López Reyes, the commander of Honduras' armed forces, attacked the autocratic policies of his predecessor, General Gustavo Alvarez Martínez, who was ousted by the military in March. In a televised speech, López announced that the 37-member Armed Forces Superior Council was once again the final arbiter of all defense matters. Though López did not criticize the U.S. directly, his talk served notice that Washington could no longer depend on the unquestioning collaboration of the Alvarez years.

The major sore point between Honduras and the U.S. is the training of Salvadoran soldiers on Honduran soil. In 1969, El Salvador and Honduras fought a brief war; though animosities have abated, a border dispute remains. Recently, Washington insisted that 1,200 Salvadorans be allowed to

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World

participate in the joint U.S.-Honduran military exercises, dubbed Granadero I, that ended last week. In addition, some 4,000 Salvadorans have been trained at a Honduran military base near Puerto Castilla. Honduran military officials are renegotiating with the U.S. the terms of operating the base. Though the Salvadorans will probably remain, the Honduran government would like to link a new agreement to a settlement of the border squabble.

In Nicaragua the conciliatory atmosphere prompted by Secretary of State George Shultz's quickie trip to Managua two weeks ago seemed to evaporate swiftly. Accusing the U.S. of plans to step up "the war of aggression against Nicaragua," Defense Minister Humberto Ortega Saavedra announced a "massive mobilization of the people." Ortega detailed the expected enemy offensive, but the reason for the speech was an attack last week on the northern Nicaraguan city of Ocotal by U.S.-backed rebels. The heavily fortified town of 15,000 was held by the rebels for four hours.

Nicaragua's Sandinista government suffered another critical blast last week, but not from the Reagan Administration. After a two-year study, the Organization of American States (OAS) released a report charging that the Sandinistas had abused their country's Miskito Indians. Since they came to power in 1979, the Sandinistas have tried to exert control over the Miskitos, who live in isolated hamlets on the Caribbean coast. The OAS investigation, which was requested by the Sandinistas themselves, concluded that the worst violations occurred between 1981 and 1983 and included torture and the killing of about 35 Miskitos. The report added that the Sandinistas have made "significant advances" in their treatment of the Miskitos. But there are also fewer Indians than before: about 17,000 Miskitos have fled the country for refugee camps in Honduras. ■



Salvadoran soldier on Granadero I maneuvers
A sore point for the U.S. and Honduras.



The Pontiff during his brief reign

THE VATICAN

Poison Gossip

Charges of murder most foul

On the evening of Sept. 28, 1978, Pope John Paul I said prayers in his private chapel in the Apostolic Palace, then retired to his bedroom a few yards away. It would be his last night alive: next morning, the Pontiff was found dead in his bed. The official cause of death was a heart attack. What made John Paul's demise especially poignant was that he had been elected Pope only 33 days earlier.

A book to be published in the U.S. this week offers a shocking judgment: that John Paul I was murdered. In his work, titled *In God's Name: An Investigation into the Murder of John Paul I* (Bantam, \$16.95), British Author David Yallop contends that the Pontiff was ordered killed by one or more of six suspects, all of whom "had a great deal to fear if the papacy of John Paul I continued."

According to Yallop, the murder was triggered by the Pope's decision to purge the troubled Vatican Bank and cleanse the church of alleged ties with a clandestine Italian Masonic lodge called *Propaganda Due*, or P-2. In breathless prose, the author surveys his lineup of suspects and their supposed motives. There was the late Jean Cardinal Villot, the Vatican Secretary of State, who Yallop claims had learned he would be replaced and who was upset that John Paul was allegedly considering loosening the church's prohibition on artificial birth control; Archbishop Paul Marcinkus, head of the Vatican Bank, who is said to have been scheduled for immediate removal; Roberto Calvi, president of Banco Ambrosiano, who faced ruin if his trickery with Vatican funds was discovered; Michele

Sindona, the Sicilian banker who knew about the Vatican Bank's alleged laundering of Mafia money; Licio Gelli, grand master of P-2, which is supposed to have boasted some 100 Vatican members; and last but not least, the late John Cardinal Cody of Chicago, who had been tipped off that he would be asked to resign.

Having set up characters and motives so diverse, Yallop then fails to finger any one suspect. Instead, he devotes four pages, complete with reconstructed dialogue, to Cardinal Villot's last meeting with John Paul I, on Sept. 28, in which the Pontiff outlines his proposed personnel changes. Villot, according to Yallop, "advised, argued and remonstrated, but to no avail." Yallop speculates that the Pope was poisoned, perhaps by someone tampering with a bottle of low-blood-pressure medicine called Effortil that the author says John Paul I kept at his bedside. Yallop insists that inconsistencies in the Vatican's account of the papal death and the absence of an autopsy point to a cover-up.

Yallop, 47, who has written several investigative books, including a biography of Fatty Arbuckle, in which he exonerates the comedian of involvement in a starlet's death, spent three years researching *In God's Name*. Still, the theory is hardly fresh. An even more astounding tale swirled about the Vatican immediately after John Paul I died: that the first attempt to slip the Pope a poisoned cup of tea had gone awry and killed a guest instead. Moreover, there was nothing unusual about the lack of an autopsy after John Paul I's death: autopsies are never performed on Popes.

Yallop offers no hard evidence to prove his poison plot. The motives ascribed to some of Yallop's "suspects" seem illogical, if not incredible. After his election, John Paul I reconfirmed all Vatican officials for five years, including Villot and Marcinkus. Sindona, who is serving a 25-year jail term in a New York prison for fraud, and Calvi, who was found hanging from a London bridge in 1982, had dire financial problems, but none that a papal murder would alleviate. News about Gelli's P-2 lodge

did help topple the Italian government of Prime Minister Arnaldo Forlani in 1981, but only because so many government officials belonged to the illegal organization; no Vatican prelate was ever proved to be a member.

Though the poisoning of a Pope may seem farfetched today, legend has it that at least one Pope—Alexander VI—died of poisoning, from a fatal potion that was intended for some Cardinals. That was in 1503, and the rumors have not let up yet. Veteran Vatican observers recall the stories of how Pope Plus X died of poisoning in 1914. Then there were the whispers about how poison killed Leo XIII in 1903, Pius VIII in 1830, and ... ■

IN GOD'S NAME
AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE MURDER OF POPE JOHN PAUL I
DAVID A. YALLOP

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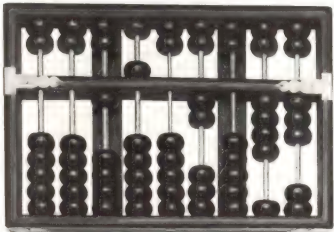
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World Notes

THE PHILIPPINES

No News Is Bad News

Almost a month has passed since the Philippines held a nationwide election for its 200-seat National Assembly, and still there is no final count. The election commission, whose members are appointed by the government of President Ferdinand Marcos, has conceded that the opposition more than quadrupled its representation, from 14 to at least 62 seats, but has yet to give a final tally for eleven seats.

The delay has added fuel to suspicions that the government has engaged in vote fiddling. In the province of Nueva Vizcaya, Opposition Candidate Carlos Padilla was initially reported to have trounced Political Affairs Minister Leonardo Perez by some 19,000 votes. Last week the election commission declared the winner was Perez, who just happened to be its former chairman.

Marcos did not wait for the final results to announce a series of austerity measures last week, including a 28.6% *de facto* devaluation of the peso, designed to meet International Monetary Fund conditions for a new loan to the heavily indebted nation (total: \$25.6 billion). The President also placed Manila on alert and had checkpoints set up in the wake of two fires and the murder of a police general.

ARGENTINA

All in Favor of Unity

"We have inaugurated a new political style in the country," Argentine President Raúl Alfonsín declared as he signed a 15-point agreement with former President María Estela (Isabelita) Martínez de Perón and the leaders of 14 other parties last week. The pact was another step in Alfonsín's drive to maintain national unity at a time when the country is facing an annual inflation rate of 568% and growing labor unrest. Some 400,000 miners, bus drivers, waterworks employees and metal- and grain-workers are currently demanding wage increases.

The agreement put both the government and the Peronists on record as favoring eventual repayment of the country's \$43.6 billion foreign debt, though its language was so fuzzy as to allow a wide range of interpretations. Still less was said about the austerity program that Alfonsín's six-month-old government will need to introduce soon if it is to persuade the International Monetary Fund to refinance part of the nation's debt.

A day later, as the widow of Juan Perón prepared to return to Spain, where she has lived in exile since her ouster by a military junta in 1976, a bomb was found aboard the plane. Quickly transferring to another aircraft, she told well-wishers, "Nobody dies five minutes before one's time."

BOLIVIA

Win Some, Lose Some

Mixing sports and politics is fashionable, but in Bolivia the combination tends to be downright confusing. Four years ago, Bolivia did not send a team to the 1980 Summer Olympics. Though officials blamed a strapped economy, some accused the government of joining the U.S. boycott of the Moscow Games.

Last week Bolivia announced it would not send a team to the



Walking Champ Morejón

1984 Olympics. Again officials pleaded poverty. This time, however, many suspected that the government, which now counts two Communists in the Cabinet, was bent on following the Soviet lead in boycotting the Los Angeles Games.

The Bolivian team—four marksmen, a fencer and a champion walker named Osvaldo Morejón—protested. Asked Victor Hugo Campos, one of the marksmen: "How are we to improve our record if we don't attend any major competitions?" The argument won over Bolivian President Hernán Siles Zuazo. On Friday he told the team it could go to Los Angeles.

SOVIET UNION

A Plea for Liberty

Eleven Western reporters, including members of a U.S. television crew, squeezed into a cramped Moscow apartment one day last week for a rare and risky event: a press conference by three Jewish *refuseniks*, would-be emigrants to Israel. Their message, as delivered by Boris Klotz, 34, a wiry mathematician: "There are thousands of Jews in the Moscow area alone who want to go to Israel. The authorities tell some of these people that they have insufficient motive, and others that East-West relations are too poor."

The three men called the press conference, the first in more than a year, to counter recent propaganda by a government-sponsored organization that disingenuously calls itself the Anti-Zionist Committee. Soviet Army General David Dragunsky, the committee's chairman, boasted to reporters last month that "the Zionist hope to lure Jews out of the Soviet Union has collapsed." According to official figures, Soviet emigration to Israel has indeed slowed to a trickle, from a high of 50,000 in 1979 to just 220 in the first four months of this year. For the many who cannot leave, said Viktor Fulmakt, 39, an underemployed computer programmer, "life has become extraordinarily difficult."

JAPAN

Priestly Tax Evasion

Remain impoverished, or you will end up forgetting your fundamental aspirations for Nirvana.

—Zen Monk Dogen (1200-53)

The Tokyo regional taxation bureau last month accused some of the country's 200,000 Buddhist priests of ignoring that admonition. One, it said, had used unreported income to maintain two mistresses. Another presented his wife with a \$95,000 mink coat and a diamond ring worth \$43,500.

A Buddhist priest's most lucrative activity is writing *kaimyo*, posthumous names (example: "Heroic disciple to Buddha residing in ravine full of sunshine and nightingales"), without which deceased Buddhists cannot reach "the better world." A six-character *kaimyo* can cost between \$650 and \$1,300; prices for more lavish names reach several million dollars. The fees are tax-exempt. Many priests, however, have also turned entrepreneur, running parking lots, wedding halls and real estate agencies. Although priestly income is taxed at a top rate of 20%, vs. 43.3% for corporations, the tax bureau charges they have been engaging in loose bookkeeping.



Perón and Alfonsín



Writing *kaimyo*

Sport

Barefoot in the Park

No chariots of fire: Zola stays and nobody goes



Zola Budd, little-girl runner, barefoot slip of a symbol, 82-lb. starlet of a morality play, amateur princess, professional pawn, million-dollar property, South African guster, British adoptee—winsome, wonderful and white—qualified for the Olympics last week

detonating the world, a significant upset. Though several side doors are open, like wounds, to South African athletes ostensibly ostracized for their country's policy of racial separation, black Africa did not quit the Games over Zola's stratagem after all. In 1976, 30 nations slammed out of Montreal rather than associate with New Zealand, whose kiwi rugby team had scrummed in South Africa. Unbelievably, English ruggers are crashing around there right now, but Kenyans and Angolans must be keen to compete this summer, because they have decided to remember that rugby is not an Olympic sport, and a record 36 African countries have confirmed their Los Angeles reservations.

On almost every front, the whirlwind that seemed to be starting up in small puffs all around this 5-ft. 2-in. wonder girl of 18 is becalmed. Two months ago, in a jeering incident that Prime Minister Thatcher found "utterly appalling and disgraceful," Budd raced in tears to a 1,500-meter victory at London's Crystal Palace stadium. But her winning performance there in last week's 3,000-meter trial was warmly cheered by all but a very few of the 15,000 people. To the muted demands that she denounce South Africa's political system, Budd replied, "It seems very cruel and unfair to me, because I don't suppose the other athletes are being asked to make personal declarations before they start their races." Jane Furniss, 23, now England's second-best middle-distance woman runner, initially expressed some tart opinions on distant relations and flags of convenience. But she has literally embraced Budd since. "Her kiss was very touching," Zola said. "It made me feel so welcome."

Back home in rural Bloemfontein, and in metropolitan Johannesburg 260 miles away, Budd is neither a defector nor a profiteer: she is a heroine. "Don't blame Zola for taking her chance," urged the Johannesburg *Citizen* newspaper. "Unfortunately for South Africa, its sportsmen are barred

from competing overseas, so the only chance some of them have lies in switching their allegiance to another country. In Zola's case, it is Britain, because her grandfather was British, and her father is entitled to British citizenship. Legally, Zola will be running for Britain, but in her heart and soul she will be running for South Africa, since a rubber stamp, a new passport,



Under two flags, an amateur princess, a professional pawn
"I just want to run. I will run my heart out for Britain."

a new citizenship cannot change her."

The only sector in the saga still giving off smoke is the marketplace. Unofficial or not, South African world records are as negotiable as any in the athletic universe, and when the Budd family decided to cash in last March, it was able to choose from a variety of currencies. U.S. universities offered the usual scholarships, and Zola thought California especially tantalizing. However, her father decreed that America was "too loud and brash for a shy kiddie." Besides, blood said Britain. So, politely refusing a 67-year-old English stranger's offer of marriage (and, consequently, citizenship), the family embraced the subtler seduction of the *Daily Mail*, a London tabloid with emphasis on the tab. For a reported \$280,000, the editors pur-

chased a running scoop and also helped expedite the paperwork. She's Livingstone, they're Stanley, and what part Supergiant Mark McCormack has played, or will play, is uncertain.

Publishers, producers and handshakers are hovering. A \$420,000 shoe deal has been discussed—a hilarious stipend for a barefoot runner. As of now, Budd intends to compete unshod in the Olympics. "At the moment, Zola is not a client of ours," says Drew Means of McCormack's International Management Group, "but we are in daily contact with her." He guesses she could earn over \$500,000 annually.

McCormack believes that "her talent is vast, but there could be a lot of potential tragedy on the horizon. The current approach is all about fast headlines. It would be a tragedy if she was pushed too quickly and her career was ruined." Mary Decker, whose world record for 5,000 meters was bettered by Budd this year, is a McCormack client. "I'm happy for Zola," says Decker, 25. "I will enjoy the extra competition." Sounding like a fight promoter, McCormack says that, given his way, he would bring Budd along slowly to the point of big-money matches with Decker.

Budd has prompted fight analogies from the moment of her difficult birth. Delivering a sixth child at 38, Tossie Budd required 13 pints of blood. "Zola had to be tough to be born," says her father Frank, "and she's been tough ever since." It is common for South African children to kick off their shoes and run; she is always pounding. Her coach, Pieter Labuschagne, says, "Somebody like me can't drive a girl like this," suggesting something else is doing it. "Zola's impossible to live with when she's not running." She runs twice a day, beginning at 5:45 a.m.

Not quite a child, Budd listens to Bach. "It calms me before a race." Not quite an adult, she pines for her pets. In a letter to her brother Quintus, 22, she wrote that England was nice, but "every night I think of Stompie [her cat], who is so warm in bed, and Fraaie [a terrier], who is so dirty. I hope my dogs don't forget me. Look after them please—also my bunnies." Politically, her view sounds uncomplicated: "Apartheid and the other things began before I was born, and will probably only be resolved long after I die. In the meantime I just want to run." She says, "I will run my heart out for Britain." But she does not say where her heart will be. —*By Tom Callahan*

Reported by John Wright/London and Marsh Clark/Johannesburg

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People



Class clown: Zappa with the puppet cast of his ballet

Rock fans may find it shocking, but **Frank Zappa**, 43, the bent mind behind *Weasels Ripped My Flesh* and *Valley Girl*, has gone legit. This week California's Berkeley Symphony Orchestra performs the world premiere of *A Zappa Affair*, a program of four short ballets. Zappa may have jettisoned the synthesizers and electronic guitars, but he has kept his famous sense of the absurd. The ballets—titled *Moe 'n' Herb's Vacation*, *Sinister Footwear*, *Bob in Dacron* and *Sad Jane*—are performed by giant puppets attached to live per-

formers. "There are a lot of things you can do with puppets that you can't do with dancers," explains Zappa. "In one scene a bartender gets so busy that he's torn in half. Most dancers would have a hard time with that one." Still, old-time Zappers who fear that the long-haired composer is about to change his record label to Deutsche Grammophon have nothing to fear. Says the mangy maestro: "I still enjoy making rock-'n'-roll records, and I have no intention of getting a tuxedo or a baton grafted onto my body."

It was the most unglamorous role ever offered to her, but that did not stop **Farrah Fawcett**, 37, from starring in *The Burning Bed*. The TV movie concerns the true story of Francine Hughes, who endured vicious beatings by her husband until she finally murdered him. Fawcett was up to the acting demands of the part, but transforming the blond beauty into a convincingly battered wife was no easy task. "Her features are absolutely perfect," observes Makeup Artist Fred Blau. "It's like putting your foot through a Rembrandt." To make the star con-



Fawcett: picture imperfect

siderably less perfect, Blau darkened her eyes, created bruises on her cheeks, neck and arms, and added false, crooked teeth "to take away from her Pepsodent smile." The temporarily fallen angel had no regrets, however. Says Fawcett: "It would be depressing to go through life with the same hairdo."

Her sporting activities have usually been confined to a day at the races or fishing in Scottish streams, but the **Queen Mother**, 83, can handle a cue when the occasion calls for it. While on a three-day tour of the Channel Islands, she popped into a young people's center in Jersey. There she was cheekily challenged to a game of pool by Karl Megaw, 17. The regal reply: "Certainly." As she lined up the shot, she murmured, "Wouldn't it be awful if I missed?," then proceeded to render the question academic as she slammed the ball into the side pocket: "I offered her a shot because I heard she played," said Megaw afterward. "You could see how good she is." Also impressed with the Queen Mum's tech-



Davis: bringing up Dad

Reagan, 73, and the offspring in question is Activist-Actress **Patti Davis**, 31. The President has long been at odds with the liberal notions of his daughter, who once said that people ought not to be arrested for smoking marijuana and that there is nothing wrong with unmarried couples living together. Father-daughter relations were no doubt further strained when Patti recently announced her engagement to Paul Grilley, 25, a Los Angeles



The Queen Mum cueing up at a young people's center in Jersey

nique was former U.K. Snooker Champion John Virgo. Said he: "She's a natural. If she had taken up the game a little earlier, she might have been a champ." Some say she is e'en now.

It sounds like an '80s version of *Father Knows Best*, except in this case Dad is **Ronald**

yoga instructor. In this week's *Family Weekly* magazine, the President commented on his daughter's life-style, saying: "I'm just sorry that spanking is out of fashion now." Given Patti's spunky history, look for the Administration to think it over, then announce an imminent new push for soft-voiced diplomacy over a show of force.

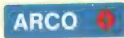
—By Guy D. Garcia



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Going for the Green

Olympic sponsors look for big payoffs from their million-dollar promotions



Companies ranging from McDonald's to Motorola are preparing for next month's Summer Games with all the drive and determination of the athletes. In the first Olympics to be paid for largely by businesses, these firms have staked huge amounts of cash and pride on what they hope will be an uplifting 16 days of sports. Company officials, though, can get butterflies when they think about the uncertainty of their investments. The pullout of athletes from the Soviet Union and 13 other countries could hurt TV ratings and dampen press coverage of the Games. The unprecedented clutter of Olympic-oriented promotion could inspire public indifference and confusion. Or, in the worst case, some disaster or embarrassing incident might occur at the Games that would cast a shadow over the sponsors' brand names. Admits William Scott, chief Olympic planner for the Southland Corp., owner of the 7-Eleven chain of convenience stores: "There are a lot of things scary about it."

Corporate America has bet money on sporting events before, but the Los Angeles Olympics will be the biggest sponsorship deal in history. To help operate and supply the Games and train U.S. athletes, scores of firms have donated upwards of \$180 million to the U.S. Olympic Committee and the Los Angeles Olympic Organizing Committee. The companies will spend an additional \$500 million on advertising and promotion to trumpet their participation in the hope of boosting prestige and profits. Most sponsors claim to be confident of being paid back amply in public good will

and employee morale. Says Xerox Spokesman Sandy Lanza: "If there is anything in the world positive to be associated with, it is the Olympics." Adds Brian Porter, manager of Olympic marketing for Anheuser-Busch, an \$11 million sponsor: "We feel the Games are the ultimate in amateur sports. We would be embarrassed not to be involved."

The financial stakes are highest for the 32 sponsors of the Games, who each paid the Los Angeles committee from \$4 million to \$13 million in cash, goods and services. Though such notable firms as Johnson & Johnson scorned that particular deal as too costly, the committee easily filled its roster. Sometimes it did so by playing on corporate rivalry. Says Peter Ueberroth, president of the Los Angeles committee: "The way you approach McDonald's, for instance, is to go in there and drop the name Burger King or Wendy's."

The notoriously hard-bargaining committee managed to extract truckloads of money and merchandise. M & M's/Mars donated \$5 million and sweetened the deal with 500,000 Snickers bars and 500,000 bags of M & M's candies. Levi Strauss will put clothes on all 700 U.S. athletes and coaches plus some 40,000 staffers at the Games, from Ueberroth down to the parking-lot attendants. IBM has lent 200 of its Personal Computers and 190 word processors, among other gear.

This bounty buys each company the privilege of putting official Olympic symbols and themes into its advertising. In addition, there are other perquisites. The 32 sponsors, all of which plan to entertain employees and customers at the Games,

will be allowed to buy blocks of tickets amounting to almost 10% of the total supply of 7.7 million. Atlantic Richfield, for instance, plans to buy some 18,000 tickets. Some sponsors will also be permitted to sell their products at the sites of the events. Coca-Cola, the official soft drink of the Games, plans to set up 100 kiosks at the Los Angeles Memorial Coliseum and other locales. Another sponsor, Fuji Photo, hopes to flood the Games with its green-white-and-red boxes of film.

Sponsors are making sure that no one misses their Olympic support. First Interstate, the official banking sponsor, crowned its Los Angeles skyscraper with a 26-ft. lighted replica of the Olympic stars-in-motion logo. Fuji plastered the company name and Olympic symbols on a 164-ft. blimp and flew it on a publicity tour from North Carolina to California.

For the sponsors, the thrill of victory will come from a gain in sales. They were given support in February by a survey in *Advertising Age*, which reported that one-third of consumers said they would be more inclined to buy a product if it were tied to the Games. Still, some sponsors are concerned that their message will be diluted by the superabundance of advertising with Olympic themes. By limiting the number of full-fledged sponsors, the Los Angeles committee tried its best to create an elite group. This compares with the rug-bazaar atmosphere of the Lake Placid Winter Games in 1980, when 381 brands wore the official label.

Yet a host of other companies have found ways to get into the 1984 act in one way or another. Some 38 firms will be off-



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cial suppliers for the Games, 44 have contributed to the U.S. Olympic Committee's training effort, and about 200 support American track-and-field competitors. Result: Muzak, for instance, will be entitled to tout itself as the official supplier of canned music to the Games, and Rolex can call its products the official watches of the U.S. equestrian team. The waters of the Games are a pool of confusion. Perrier is the official mineral water of the Olympics, while Los Angeles' Arrowhead is the official drinking water, and Sparklett's, another Southern California firm, provides the official water for the U.S. track-and-field trials.

Fuji thought it pulled a coup when it anted up more than \$4 million to become a full sponsor after Eastman Kodak rebelled at the price. But then Kodak struck a quick deal to become the sponsor of the U.S. track-and-field team for less than \$2 million. Complains Fuji Vice President Carl Chapman: "It is confusing. The public cannot make sense of all the different symbols."

The problem is worsened by companies that make no sponsorship claim but implicitly tie themselves to the Games. American Tobacco, whom the Los Angeles committee would not touch with a vaulter's pole, is boosting Lucky Strike Filters with an Olympic-trip sweepstakes. The makers of Nike shoes have given an Olympic look to their TV commercials and billboards by casting them with Track Star Mary Decker.

Such firms had better be careful. Both the U.S. and Los Angeles committees keep an almost fanatical watch on the proper use of their trademarks. Congress in 1978 gave the U.S. committee exclusive rights to the interlocking-rings symbol and even the term Olympic, while the Los Angeles committee has copyrighted the stars-in-motion logo and Sam the Eagle mascot. The group employs twelve detective agencies to track down unauthorized users of its symbols. When violators are

found, the committee's lawyers go to court as fast as Carl Lewis does the 100-meter dash. They will reprimand even the main sponsors, as they did when Coca-Cola produced souvenir pins of Sam improperly grabbing a can of Coke.

Possibly the main concern of the sponsors is that the East bloc's pull-out will diminish consumer interest in the Games. Without the Soviets, says Robert Buchanan, executive vice president of the J. Walter Thompson ad agency, the contest "will be like debating with an empty chair." But then he adds hopefully, "Perhaps patriotism will cause Americans to rally round the Olympics. Controversy always attracts a bigger audience." In a poll last month by *Crain's Chicago Business* magazine, 14% of the local TV viewers surveyed said they would watch the Games less because of the Soviet boycott. Says Jerry Solomon, executive vice president of the D'Arcy McManus & Masius ad agency: "Nobody is changing their promoting plans. We're going full steam ahead as though nothing happened."

The confidence of advertisers in the

Olympics comes from recent experience in sports sponsorship, which is currently one of the hottest promotional vehicles. According to the industry rule of thumb, \$1 million spent on sponsoring a sporting event will make the same impression on the public as \$10 million worth of other advertising. Says Barry Pavelec, executive director of the Center for Sports Sponsorship: "A company can instantly pick up an identification with the life-style or attitude that the sport reflects."

The sponsors have managed to shrug off the unflattering criticism about the commercial atmosphere of the Games. Wags in the European press have dubbed them the McLympics. The *Nation*, the liberal U.S. weekly, griped, "The whole event is beginning to look like a TV docudrama about the last days of capitalism." The Soviets, before they withdrew their athletes, even made the absurd claim that the business support of the Games is an effort to cover up such corporate misdeeds as food poisoning and monopoly building.

The Los Angeles committee convincingly defends the capitalistic way. Says

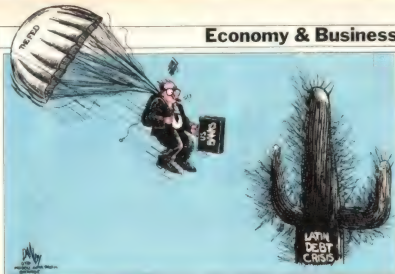
Dan Greenwood, the committee's head of sponsorship: "If you pulled out corporate support, amateur athletics in this country would dry up virtually within a year." The committee is almost obsessive about maintaining a tone of dignity about the Games. "No billboards, for example, will be allowed within sight of the playing fields. Says Greenwood: "Is there a risk of these companies' taking over the Games? Certainly not. They would be destroying the very thing that makes the Olympics valuable to them." The companies have shown some restraint. Says 7-Eleven's Scott: "Everyone is very sensitive about it. The Olympics require a certain amount of taste. We don't plan to have a discount Olympic Slurpee, for example."

—By Stephen Koopp, Reported by Steven Holmes/Los Angeles and Thomas Carroll/New York



Ueberroth won some patrons by playing on corporate rivalries. Never before has an athletic event attracted so much money.

Economy & Business



Cut and Tax

A recipe to close the deficit

Trying to close the federal budget deficit of nearly \$200 billion is a bit like making the perfect spaghetti sauce. There are hundreds of different recipes because individual cooks have their own special tastes. Congressional Democrats want to trim the deficit primarily by reducing military spending and raising taxes, while the White House and many Republicans would prefer to cut social programs.

Now the Brookings Institution, a respected Washington research organization, has put forward a bold budget-cutting recipe that will be tasty to no one but may show the way toward a compromise. Published last week, *Economic Choices 1984* (Brookings; \$8.95) presents a strategy that combines cuts in military and domestic spending with tax hikes. The 171-page book is the work of a team of ten economists headed by Alice Rivlin, former director of the Congressional Budget Office.

Unless Congress takes action, the budget deficit is expected to rise inexorably from \$197 billion next year to \$308 billion by 1989. The Brookings proposal would pare the deficit to \$145 billion next year and push it down to only \$20 billion by the end of the decade. Carefully balanced, the plan calls for spending reductions of \$92 billion, equally divided between defense and domestic cuts, and tax increases of \$108 billion in 1989. Lower interest costs on the national debt would save another \$88 billion that year.

The Brookings economists offer detailed suggestions for meeting those goals. On the domestic spending side, the book advocates a one-year freeze on all social programs except those intended to help the poor. Beyond that, the proposal calls

A Prickly Dilemma for the Banks

Financiers meet to hunt for a way out of their Latin debt troubles

The three-day International Monetary Conference held last week in Philadelphia had all the trappings of a gala affair. In the evenings, private bankers and government finance officials from 22 countries sipped champagne at the Philadelphia Museum of Art and sampled Vennese pastries in the gorgeous Longwood Gardens of the Pierre S. du Pont estate. But during the daytime closed-door meetings at the Bellevue Stratford Hotel, the business was serious and the mood sober. Bankers were groping once again for solutions to the Latin American debt dilemma, which was threatening to take another turn for the worse.

As the week began, Ecuador proclaimed that it was suspending payments on part of its \$6.7 billion debt. Though Ecuador's loans are small in relation to the \$350 billion owed by Latin America as a whole, the announcement was disturbing because the country seemed to be playing a me-too game. Less than a week earlier, Bolivia had said it would suspend interest payments on some of its \$3.4 billion debt. Some bankers feared that this defiance could keep spreading to other countries.

At the Philadelphia conference, Jacques de Larosière, managing director of the International Monetary Fund, and Paul Volcker, Chairman of the U.S. Federal Reserve Board, urged bankers to stretch out repayment schedules for Mexican loans and reduce that country's interest rates, which now run as high as 13.5%. Mexico deserves such a break, said De Larosière, because it has made substantial progress toward solving its economic problems. Since 1982 the country has cut a 100% inflation rate almost in half and doubled its annual trade surplus to \$13.6 billion.

The advice from De Larosière and Volcker produced an immediate response from the bankers. Mexico's major creditors, led by New York's Citibank, announced that they were willing to renegotiate

the interest rates and the timetable for payments. The banks remained reluctant, however, to grant similar concessions to other large Latin debtors because they have made less headway with their economic difficulties. Brazil's annual inflation rate is 210%, and Argentina's is an astounding 500%.

Finance and foreign ministers from several Latin countries, including Mexico, Argentina and Brazil, are planning to get together next week in Cartagena, Colombia, to discuss their debt problems. But Citibank Chairman Walter Wriston dismissed fears that the Latin nations would join forces to withhold payments. Said he: "They would be cutting off their source of funds. They would be cutting their own throats by setting up a cartel."

The latest worries about Latin debt came as the U.S. banking system was still recovering from the shock of the near collapse in May of Continental Illinois Bank. The bank revealed last week the stringent terms that it had been forced to accept to receive an emergency \$1.5 billion loan from the Federal Deposit Insurance Corp. The FDIC insisted that it have the power to fire Continental directors, that the bank suspend its 50¢-per-share quarterly dividend payment and that the bank's officials refrain from giving themselves large severance bonuses, known as golden parachutes, in the event another financial institution takes over Continental.

One reason for continuing concern about Continental is that the bank has \$2 billion, or nearly 5% of its assets, on loan to Mexico, Brazil, Argentina and Venezuela. If all those countries demanded lower interest rates, the earnings at Continental and other major U.S. banks would suffer. For that reason, bankers will be waiting anxiously for news from Cartagena next week. —By Charles P. Alexander, Reported by Bernard Baumohl/Philadelphia and Frederick Ugeheuer/New York



Brookings Economist Rivlin unveils the plan. On the hit list: Social Security and the MX.



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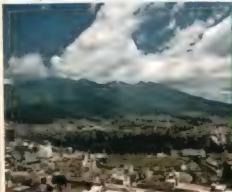


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Personal Cartridge Copiers. Plain and Simple. Canon PC copiers bring quality plain paper copying within just about everyone's reach. They're available in one-line (black) or two-line (black/brown/blue) color. PC cartridges contain swivel-locks: black-brown-blue-red* green* and light blue*.

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The PC 20 gives you the added convenience of automatic paper feeding. Lets you make 8 copies a minute.

The PC 25 reduces, enlarges and makes legal size copies too. Originals can be any size up to 10" x 14.



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Bring your business up to speed with Canon facsimiles. Like Canon copiers, Canon facsimiles give you a combination of innovative technology, features, reliability and price that's hard to beat.

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High-tech engineering, luxury for six. That's the new Ninety-Eight Regency Brougham. Each wheel has its own independent suspension to give you a smooth, controlled ride. You feel the road, but not the bumps.

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Electronic Instrument Panel



Electronic Load Leveler

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There is a special feel
in an



Oldsmobile

CONSISTENTLY HYATT.

A row of five wine glasses is shown, with the central one being filled with orange juice. The juice is being poured from a glass pitcher, creating a dynamic splash and bubbles. The background is a soft, light color, making the glasses and the vibrant orange juice stand out.

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Visit the 1984 World's Fair and stay at Hyatt, adjacent to Superdome. Special packages available.

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Thrive in the sunshine at Hyatt, neighbor to Walt Disney World.

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for long-term spending restraints concentrated in four major areas: Social Security, Medicare, federal pensions and farm benefits. The economists suggest, for example, that the initial level of Social Security benefits that people receive when they retire could be reduced by 5%. In addition, the book asserts that the rate of growth in payments that hospitals receive for each Medicare patient should be slashed by more than two-thirds, after adjustment for inflation. For all domestic programs, the target would be savings of \$46 billion by 1989.

The book argues that many of the proposed weapons systems in the Reagan military buildup are redundant. The Pentagon does not need the land-based MX missile, say the Brookings experts, when it also plans to have the submarine-based Trident D-5 aimed at Soviet targets. Also high on the hit list are the B-1B bomber, the AH-64 attack helicopter and the F-15 fighter. By Brookings estimates, the Government could carve \$46 billion out of the defense budget by 1989 without threatening national security at all.

Even with big spending cuts, however, revenue increases will be needed. The Brookings economists think Congress should aim to boost taxes by \$23 billion in 1985. Much of that could come from eliminating many income tax deductions and closing loopholes. Congress could, for example, raise \$3.9 billion by taxing employees on employer contributions to health plans and \$600 million by reducing business entertainment deductions by 50%. The Brookings book lists 23 such steps that could bring in \$30 billion, but suggests that a politically realistic target might be \$15 billion. The additional \$8 billion needed to meet the \$23 billion revenue goal could be raised by imposing a temporary 2% income tax surcharge.

Over the long run, the Brookings economists believe, the tax system needs a complete overhaul. Under their plan, most traditional deductions would be disallowed, but taxpayers would be able to subtract from their incomes any money that they had set aside during the year in savings accounts, stocks or other investments. This provision would strengthen the economy by increasing savings and stimulating investment in new plants and equipment. By doing away with deductions, the Government could boost revenues while lowering tax rates. According to Brookings projections, Congress could increase receipts by \$108 billion in 1989 and still drop the maximum tax rate from 50% to 38%.

The Brookings economists admit that budget balancing will be difficult and painful, but they argue that the only alternative is a burgeoning deficit that "endangers the future growth of the U.S. economy and undermines the ability of American industry to compete in world markets." Says Rivlin: "The best time to deal with the deficit is now. Every day we delay, we have a bigger problem to handle."

—By Charles P. Alexander.

Reported by Christopher Redman/Washington



After touchdown: York, Janszen, Weinberg and Blum chat near the AMF Hawker Siddeley jet

Corporate Angels of Mercy

Giving cancer patients a lift on the company plane

Karen Janszen, 34, had never flown in a small aircraft. She was therefore apprehensive last May 17 as she boarded the eight-seat Hawker Siddeley jet of AMF, the sports-equipment and industrial-technology manufacturer, for a trip from Houston to Westchester County Airport in White Plains, N.Y. Two years ago, Janszen underwent surgery in Methodist Hospital to remove a malignant brain tumor, and she was returning from Houston after chemotherapy treatments. AMF Chairman W. Thomas York, who was in Houston for business meetings, was giving her a free lift on the company plane. The in-flight accommodations delighted Janszen. Said she: "Everyone was wonderful. They served us food and drinks and told us a little about their company."

Janszen and AMF got together with the help of the Corporate Angel Network (CAN). Based in White Plains, CAN provides free rides on corporate aircraft for cancer patients, either singly or in groups, to and from hospitals across the U.S. CAN uses a computer to match lists of all the flights that corporations will be making with the departure and destination cities requested by patients. A nonprofit organization began in 1981, CAN in its first year flew 24 patients; it now arranges that many trips each month. So far, CAN has flown 259 sick people, many of them accompanied by a companion, more than 600,000 miles. Last month CAN won the President's Volunteer Action Award.

Other patients share Janszen's enthusiasm for CAN. A. Donald Hodges, 52, pastor of the United Methodist Church in Westport, Conn., in recent years has undergone surgery twice for cancer. Thanks to the Corporate Angels, on both occasions he was able to defer his Sunday-morning sermon and still arrive at Leigh Memorial Hospital in Norfolk by Monday morning. Says Hodges: "I'm impressed by the fact

that someone cares and is offering a helping hand." Concur Harry Kass of Brooklyn, 23, who last April flew on an AT & T company plane from San Francisco to Morristown, N.J., following treatment for bone-marrow cancer: "It enabled me to avoid crowds on a commercial flight when my immune system was weakened by drugs."

CAN is the creation of Priscilla Blum, 59, a freelance writer and pilot who had a mastectomy in 1969. She knew that cancer patients have to spend heavily on commercial flights to get the best treatment possible and that those expenses are rarely covered by medical insurance. Blum, who keeps a single-engine Comanche at the Westchester airport, also knew that many corporate jets have empty seats when they take off. Her idea was simply to put patients on the planes. To help make her plan work, Blum enlisted the aid of her friend Jay Weinberg, 66, a former cancer patient and owner of an Avis car-rental franchise. Unfortunately, corporate sponsors were initially slow to sign up. The turning point came in January 1983, when David Mahoney, chairman of Norton Simon, was forced to cancel a corporate flight that was to carry a cancer patient to the West Coast. As a consolation, Mahoney wrote a letter to 1,500 leading American companies, urging them to help CAN. In response, 100 firms signed up. Today more than 270 firms participate in CAN, including American Express, AT & T, Champion International, General Foods, Merrill Lynch, Reader's Digest and Time Inc.

Nonetheless, CAN is able to assist only 20% to 30% of all the cancer victims who request trips. Blum hopes eventually to expand the service to include almost all of the 15,700 American corporate aircraft now aloft.

—By Robert T. Grieves.

Reported by Jane Van Tassel/New York

How Does This #%€@! Thing Work?

No matter what happens, do not look at the manual

You press the button, we do the rest." That marvelously simple slogan helped sell millions of Eastman Kodak cameras starting in 1888. Today, however, the owner of a new video cassette recorder or some other electronic wonder must turn to an instruction manual to get his machine working. But that is often when the trouble begins: the consumer opens a booklet to find a compilation of jargon, gibberish and just plain confusion. "There is a major disease in this country called wall-stare," says Sanford Rosen, president of Communication Sciences, a Minneapolis consulting firm. "When people read a computer manual, they just want to put it down and stare at the wall for as long as possible."

Bad instructions are bad business as well as a torture to read. A maddening manual can cripple sales of products that might have been successful. Coleco lost \$35 million in the fourth quarter last year partly because people flocked to return the initial version of its Adam computer, which the company offered for \$600. In a statement to shareholders, Coleco blamed much of the consumer dissatisfaction on "manuals which did not offer the first-time user adequate assistance." Observes Joseph Sugarman, president of J S & A, a mail-order house that specializes in high-tech merchandise: "Very often, items with the highest rate of return are those where customers are frustrated with the instructions." Coleco has reintroduced the Adam computer, complete with a new instruction manual.

Directions for hooking up and operating video cassette recorders can be particularly maddening. A frequent mystery is how to connect the machines to television sets and antennas. Owners must often pick their way through mazes of diagrams and technical terms like "One-touch type F connector" that seem to have been written for licensed electricians. Some manuals compound the confusion with illustrations that differ from the actual machine. Notes the 46-page booklet for a Panasonic OmniVision model: "Please be assured that this difference is not due to mistake but to ongoing product improvement."

Manuals for smaller, less expensive items can also be frustrating. Instructions for a Pulsar digital quartz watch (\$59) go on for 13 pages before telling how to set the time. One Hewlett-Packard financial calculator (\$110) comes with an operating booklet that runs to 246 pages of small type. The company supplements that with a 170-page training guide that sells for \$15. "People have said we should do something like this for all our manuals," observes Janet Cryer, who wrote the guide.

Consumer electronics companies insist that customers are generally satisfied with the directions they get. "Over the past year the number of complaints we have received because of difficulties understanding our user's manuals would probably fit in one hand," says W.T. Collins, a vice president for consumer affairs at RCA. The firm's instructions used to be written by design engineers, but now they are prepared by technical personnel who train distributors in how to operate and service RCA products. Says Collins: "We realized that engineers have a tendency to make the content of a manual a bit too technical."



Various causes are behind impenetrable operating booklets. Some publications are slapped together quickly just as the product is about to be introduced. "Manuals are too often the last things that are done," says Communication Sciences' Rosen. The pressure is particularly intense in the fast-moving personal-computer industry. "A lot of the problem in that market is the haste to get the product out first," says Lois Schwartz, a New York City specialist in the preparation of instructions.

Some gadgetry from Japan and its Asian neighbors helps swell the confusion. Says Bob Budnek, a former Atlanta audio consultant: "The instructions are written in Japan, translated in Japan and printed in Japan, and sometimes the intention of making it clear to people in English does not come through." For example, the directions for one Japanese-made turntable cartridge advise: "Furthermore, cantilever would be damaged

when the stylus guard is touched and detached." Even simple points about simple products can get lost in translation. The instructions for Swimotor, a Hong Kong-made toy that pulls children through water, warn that "the user must every time pay attention especially to the time used with this machine."

A clear manual can be a thing of beauty and a joy forever. "Those that are well thought out make good reading," says Catalogue Merchant Joseph Sugarman. "They sound as if they were written by a teacher with plenty of patience who is aware of all the mistakes a consumer can make."

Many retailers are impressed with the manual for Apple's new Macintosh computer. Designed to be used with tapes and video displays, it guides Macintosh owners gently through a technological thicket. Says Chris Espinosa, 22, an eight-year

Apple veteran who supervised the booklet's preparation: "A good manual is not a narrative; it is an outline or report. No-body ever reads a manual cover to cover—only mutants do that."

Fortunately, better manuals may be on the way. Leading technical schools like Rensselaer Polytechnic in Troy, N.Y., and Pittsburgh's Carnegie-Mellon have writing programs that teach students how to translate complex facts into clear directions. Enrollment in the classes is high, and instructors say that corporations have been snapping up their graduates.

But for now, at least, many consumers are likely to continue to find operating booklets more frustrating than enlightening. Indeed, some may feel like twisting the famous bromide "If all else fails, consult the manual" into a new admonition: "No matter what happens, do not look at the manual!" —By John Greenwald. Reported by Dorothy Ferenbaugh/New York and Carol Fletcher/Chicago



You may never need a tire this good.

Tiger Paw Plus with Royal Seal. Just one nail through the tread in the middle of nowhere is enough to make you wish you had a tire this good.

It's Uniroyal's Tiger Paw Plus with Royal Seal. An excellent example of high technology protecting you from the harsh realities of the real world.

For this tire has two steel belts as a formidable barrier against tread punctures. And it also has something more. A patented substance that automatically and permanently seals most tread punctures up to 3/16 of an inch in diameter.

That alone is probably

enough to make you want it. Even if it didn't have a projected tread life 20% greater than Michelin X. Which it does. And even if it weren't an excellent all-weather tire. Which it is.

In fact, we're now backing it with a unique, industry-leading limited warranty covering the whole tire—both tread and sidewall.

If any road hazard makes it unserviceable during the first 2 years or 30% of tread depth (whichever comes first), we will replace it. Free.

You may never need a tire this good. But it's nice to know you've got it.



U.S. Olympic Committee contributor.



Tiger Paw Plus with Royal Seal.

Business Notes

WALL STREET

Merrill Lynch's New Herdsman

Merrill Lynch had an unexpected shake-up at the very top last week. Chairman Roger E. Birk, 54, the company boss since 1981, announced he would step down July 1 as chief executive officer to make way for the firm's president, William A. Schreyer, 56. The move reflected troubles in the Merrill Lynch herd. Only about a year ago, the Merrill Lynch bull was snorting with satisfaction. Propelled by a booming stock market, company profits for the first half of 1983 jumped to \$239 million, 3½ times as high as in the same period in 1982. But since then the bull has been hit by lances from all sides. In the fourth quarter of 1983, Merrill Lynch poured out \$42 million in red ink.

Schreyer, who is known for being decisive, will need to be. The company has been rocked by bad ventures. Last year Merrill Lynch spent \$88 million to satisfy customers to whom it had sold annuities issued by Baldwin-United, which later went bankrupt. A career-long employee whose father was a Merrill Lynch broker in Williamsport, Pa., Schreyer recently led an extensive study of the company's problems. Dubbed SWAT, for Schreyer Working Team, the group found the firm had tried to serve too many different types of customers.

GOVERNMENT

Nationalization—American Style



The endangered plant

When Brian Lawler became mayor of New Bedford, Mass. (pop. 97,250), in 1983, he knew he would be in charge of schools, parks and garbage pickup, but he never thought about running a factory. Until now. Lawler announced last week that the city stood ready to make unprecedented use of its power of eminent domain to take over Morse Cutting Tools, a 120-year-old New Bedford manufacturer that employs about 450 workers. Gulf & Western Industries, the New York-based conglomerate that owns Morse Cutting Tools, has been shedding divisions and has set a tentative July 31 deadline for selling the New Bedford company. The city fears that Gulf & Western will close Morse if no buyer can be found.

Eminent domain, a legal right of governments that originated in the Middle Ages, has traditionally been used to take over land for public works like highways. New Bedford obtained a 45-page legal opinion that says a city can also use eminent domain to assume ownership of the buildings and equipment of a private company "for the purpose of maintaining a healthy economy." New Bedford would have to pay Gulf & Western a fair price for Morse, estimated to be \$10 million to \$20 million.

GOING PUBLIC

Unlocking a 130-Year-Old Firm

For generations of elegant travelers, Louis Vuitton has been the last word in luxury luggage. Marlene Dietrich once crammed 23 trunks bearing Vuitton's famous initials into her limousine before a trip. Now Paris-based Vuitton, whose retail prices range from \$235 for a duffel bag to \$1,225 for a hard-frame suitcase, has decided to unlock itself and let in public owners. In a unique

double offering, the 130-year-old company (1983 sales: \$100 million) listed its stock on the Paris Bourse last week, and plans to sell 258,000 common shares on the U.S. over-the-counter market later this month. This will be the first public stock offering of a private French firm in the U.S.

By going public, Vuitton will be cashing in on a remarkable boom. Sales of its luggage and handbags have surged more than eightfold since 1977, when Henry Racamier, a retired steel-maker whose wife is a member of the Vuitton family, took over as president. At the time, Vuitton had only one factory. Racamier added six more and opened more than 50 new stores in cities ranging from Singapore to Short Hills, N.J. As a result of the exuberant expansion, two-thirds of Vuitton's business now comes from high-fashion bag totes outside France.

TAKEOVERS

Sir Jimmy's \$2 Billion Move

By turns clever, dominating, quick-tempered and stubborn, British Industrialist Sir James Goldsmith, 51, rarely fails to excite speculation over his next takeover target. Last week the balding, staccato-voiced conglomerate offered Continental Group, a company that had 1983 revenues of \$5 billion from products that range from tin cans to life insurance, \$50 a share for its stock, or \$2.1 billion in cash. Said he: "It is a very good company. We admire the management."

Goldsmith always wanted to be a millionaire. At 20 he made international headlines by eloping with a Bolivian heiress, and in 1965 he began a long string of corporate takeovers. Goldsmith's diverse holdings include the French newsweekly *L'Express*; Grand Union, the U.S. supermarket chain; and Manhattan's Hard Rock Cafe.

Some observers speculate that Sir Jimmy's bid for Continental is just an attempt to make a quick profit. According to them, Goldsmith may be out to scare Continental's management into buying back his shares if he should obtain a large block of stock.

TRADEMARKS

Mad Dog on the Run

Businessman Barry Gottlieb, 34, is the scourge of preppie-dom. First he designed a belly-up alligator that poked fun at the celebrated reptile on Izod Lacoste shirts. Its name: the Croc O' Shirt. Unamused, Izod Lacoste sued, and Gottlieb's Mad Dog Productions (1983 sales: \$300,000) agreed to withdraw its parody pull-overs. Mad Dog is again on the run. The satire this time is Ralph Lauren's polo-player insignia. Gottlieb's Horse Shirt shows the rider being dragged behind the horse. Lauren sued, and Gottlieb has again promised to halt sales. Said he last week: "I was only poking a little satirical fun at the whole preppie movement. Everyone should be able to laugh." But not, in Gottlieb's case, on the way to the bank: he has now lost two of the three items his firm produces. The only one left is Silent Vigil foam-rubber wind chimes, introduced two months ago "for those who love the look but hate the sound." Silent Vigil sales to date: 2,000 toneless tinnantunables.



Conglomerateur Goldsmith



Izod was irate



No Lauren laugh

It's More you.

*It's long.
It's slim.
It's elegant.*

28 CLASS A
CIGARETTES

More

FILTER CIGARETTES

More

A woman with dark, wavy hair, wearing a white long-sleeved top and white trousers, is seated on a white metal chair at a small round table. She is holding a cigarette in her right hand. On the table are two glasses of red wine and a small teacup. To her left is a large, red pack of More cigarettes. The pack features the word 'More' in large white letters and '28 CLASS A CIGARETTES' at the top. The background is a plain, light-colored wall.

Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined
That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

17 mg. "tar", 1.3 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette by FTC method.



INCIDENTALLY, THERE ARE ALSO A FEW PRACTICAL REASONS TO OWN ONE.

A lot of people buy cars because they like the way they look.

We're not against that.

But we do think it would be a shame if people bought the new Cougar only for its beautiful lines.

Because an extraordinary amount of

advanced design and engineering has gone into Cougar's styling.

Its aerodynamic shape, for example, is as practical as it is beautiful, able not only to slip cleanly through onrushing air, but to use that air to help the car hug the road.

Get it together—buckle up.



Its EEC-IV electronic engine control system is the most advanced in the world, and is capable of controlling six different functions at once to keep the engine operating at peak levels of both power and fuel efficiency.*

Even the Cougar's shock absorbers are specially designed with pressurized nitrogen to respond to jarring road obstructions consistently better than conventional shocks.

And while most cars in its class have not undergone significant styling changes in several years, this Cougar was newly and aero-

dynamically shaped for 1983.

Obviously, we're pleased if you are attracted to Cougar's looks.

But after a careful consideration of its many practical features, we hope you won't let its looks blind you to its real beauty.

Call us toll-free at 1-800-MERCFAX for a copy of our 1984 Cougar catalog.

*27 EST. HWY. 20 EPA EST. MPG. Compare to the estimated MPG of other cars. Your mileage may differ depending on speed, weather and trip length. Actual highway mileage less.

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MERCURY COUGAR



What's the one number to call about business phones and phone business?

Call 1-800-247-7000 for AT&T's Small Business Connection. It's a nationwide network designed especially to meet the needs of small businesses—like yours.

Just one phone call connects you with a center right in your own area. And with a team of sales and service specialists whose only business is small business.

It connects you with any equipment your business demands, from standard phones to state of the art. And, of course, it connects you with AT&T's one hundred years of heritage.

If telephones are the lifeline of your small business, the right call to make is 1-800-247-7000. **AT&T Information Systems.**
When you've got to be right.



Computers

Home Is Where the Heartbreak Is

Sales of low-cost machines are far less than anticipated

The International Summer Consumer Electronics Show in Chicago is the gaudy showcase of American high tech. By day, 100,000 industry officials throng the aisles of vast McCormick Place, surrounded by towering displays at 1,381 booths. At night, they dip shrimp into cocktail sauce at lavish corporate receptions and gossip about the competition. A year ago at the show, people were predicting that it was just a matter of time before there would be a computer in every house. But last week much of the talk was about the slow growth in home computers.

Analysts attending the show set things off by drastically revising their 1984 sales forecasts for home computers, the low-cost, low-power machines. The Yankee Group, a Boston-based industry watcher, slashed its projections for the year from 7.1 million to 4.9 million. Future Computing, the Richardson, Texas, research firm, lowered its estimate from 6.5 million to 5.5 million units. That would be only a 10% increase over last year, good growth for almost any other business but skimpy for an industry in which sales have been doubling and tripling annually. Says Harry Edelson, a technology analyst for the investment banking firm of First Boston: "The bloom is off the rose in the computer field. It is not going to grow as fast as everyone predicted."

Since last year's show, two of the largest home-computer makers have left that part of the business after losing millions of dollars. Texas Instruments quit, following an orgy of price cutting that saw its 99/4A computer, which had once sold for more than \$1,000, fall to as little as \$49. In February, Timex shut down when the sales of its machines that first sold for just \$99 collapsed.

Meanwhile, two other companies making home computers are trying to regroup after disastrous performances. Coleco's Adam, the big hit of last year's show, was plagued by production problems and sold poorly after going on the market in October. The product has been rolled out again at a price of about \$750. Atari, which lost \$539 million last year on video games and home computers, announced last week that it will introduce a new home machine this fall that will have a larger memory.

The troubles for home computers have hit even mighty IBM. When its PCjr, which sells for \$669 and \$1,269 in different models, was first marketed in January, analysts forecast that 500,000 would be sold this year. But First Boston's Edelson says results



Visitors play with Atari 800XLs in Chicago. Futurologists' dreams are unfulfilled.

will be less than half that. Mark Wozniak, co-owner of a Sunnyvale, Calif., computer store and brother of Apple Co-Founder Stephen Wozniak, no longer even stocks the PCjr. Says he: "It was too much heartache." Last week, in an effort to spur sales and make the PCjr more competitive, IBM cut its prices to \$599 and \$999. It reduced prices on its other personal computers by up to 23%. Smaller companies that make personal machines similar to IBM's may have to follow the lead, and observers predict that a nasty price war could erupt this summer.

All of those

missteps have left Commodore International the leading small-computer maker, with some 60% of the market. Two million Commodore 64s, which sell for about \$500, have been sold. Last week in Chicago, Commodore showed off a model called the Plus4, which includes four basic business programs and will cost under \$400.

The slowdown in the home-computer market is not surprising. While futurologists still talk about how home computers will one day turn on all your lights and raise your garage door, many home machines currently on the market do little more than play video games. Thousands of the low-cost computers that have already been sold are finding their way into closets. Asks Dennis Pelak, director of consumer research for Talmis, an Oak Park, Ill., market-research firm: "If you're not a game player and you don't have any children, is there really any reason to buy a home computer?"

But while sales of low-cost machines are off, higher-priced and more powerful personal computers that are often used at home are selling well. More and more consumers are looking for computers with greater versatility that can perform office functions like financial planning and word processing. Tandy's Radio

Shack, for example, has seen a spurt in the sales of accessories that ex-

ceed the uses of its low-

cost Color Computer

II. Says Tandy Chairman

John Roach:

"There is no question

that the buyer is becoming

more sophisticated and

wants a more meaningful

machine." Figures

compiled by Dataquest, a

California research company,

project that sales this

year of machines costing

\$1,000 to \$5,000 will be

6.6 million, slightly more

than those of less expensive

computers.

Apple is perhaps the major

beneficiary of the popularity of

higher-priced computers. When the

company's new IIc model was launched

in April, President John Sculley was

careful to explain that the \$1,295 machine

"isn't a home computer at all. It's

a serious personal computer you can

also use at home." Sales of the IIc since

April have been good, although they have

been somewhat hampered by a shortage

of important accessories like monitors.

But Apple's older IIe model, which costs

\$650 in some places, is selling out. It

may not open a garage door or turn on

the kitchen lights, but for its price, it

is extremely powerful. In fact, many

stores complain that Apple cannot supply

enough of them. —By Alexander L. Taylor III,
Reported by Cristina Garcia/Chicago and Michael
Moritz/San Francisco





A little girl shouldn't have to beg for food.

But Nita must.

Her frail mother, who spends all day in the marketplace peddling straw mats, can't sell enough to feed Nita and her two younger brothers.

For \$18 a month through our sponsorship program, you can help a child like Nita. For a destitute child, your generosity can mean health, an education—even life itself.

Write to: Mrs. Jeanne Clarke Wood
Children, Incorporated, P.O. Box 5381
Dept. T6N4, Richmond, Va. 23220 USA

- I wish to sponsor a boy girl in
 Asia, Latin America, Middle East,
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Religion

Looking Toward a New Era

The Presbyterians, at a turning point, elect their leader

When the nearly 700 delegates to the General Assembly of the 3.1 million-member Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) gathered in Phoenix last week to elect a leader, many observers looked upon the outcome as foreordained. Well before the voting began, stolid, shrewd William P. Thompson, 65, a lawyer from Wichita, Kans., sometimes regarded as the pope of the Presbyterians, was the odds-on favorite for the post of Stated Clerk (chief administrator). But on the fourth round of voting, Dark Horse James E. Andrews, 55, a droll, self-deprecating minister reared in Whittenton, Texas, emerged in an astonishing upset as the man who will try to redirect the declining fortunes of the Presbyterian Church over the next four years.

Like many mainline Protestant groups, the Presbyterians are rich (\$1.2 billion in contributions last year) but have been suffering from a slippage in membership. Since 1968, the rolls have shrunk by 1 million, with a decrease of 35,000 last year. The 278-year-old U.S. church is troubled by hostility between Evangelicals and social activists in matters as diverse as theology, foreign missions and ecumenism. For 122 years, the Southern and Northern wings of the church were separate entities. Last year they reunited, and Andrews and Thompson have served as Co-Stated Clerks on an interim basis. Says Andrews: "We have operated as almost an identical person."

The Atlanta-based Andrews, who calls himself part of the "overweight, middle-aged, white clergy who are shiny on top" is no rookie in office; he served for eleven years as head of the Southern branch of the Presbyterians. Before that, he had been an administrator and information officer with Princeton Theological Seminary and the World Alliance of Reformed Churches.

Andrews does not possess, however, the formidable reputation of Thompson, perhaps the most powerful church official in U.S. Protestantism, who ran the Northern Presbyterian division for 17 years. At congressional hearings and meetings of the National Council of Churches, where he served as president, and the World Council of Churches, he has long been an articulate voice for the liberal position on such issues as abortion, nuclear disarmament and U.S. policy in Central America. Andrews is of

similar mind but has been less outspoken.

Prior to last week's balloting, a special nominating committee had considered 59 possible candidates for Stated Clerk. After winnowing the group to 13 finalists, the panel came up with a surprising suggestion: it proposed the Rev. Patricia McClurg, an administrator with Andrews in Atlanta. The 45-year-old McClurg would have been the first woman to lead a major Christian church. But her candidacy was quickly squashed by the General Assembly's own nominating committee, which passed over McClurg without explanation and announced a slate of Thompson and Andrews. Perhaps, remarked McClurg, the committee felt that the men "looked exactly like what a Stated Clerk should look like." Two other men were nominated from the floor.

The final vote for Andrews conveyed a clear message, even though there was little ideological daylight between the two leading candidates. A study committee on the Stated Clerk's function noted a widespread call from Presbyterians at the grass-roots level for greater accountability from its top administrator, more "collegial" decision making and a rejection of any single person as the church's official voice on public issues.

The lay Presbyterian constituency indicated that it wanted to move slightly toward that era years ago, when the Stated Clerk was primarily a record keeper and not a highly visible chief of staff, like Thompson and his illustrious predecessor Eugene Carson Blake (1951-66). One conservative layman in Phoenix summed up Andrews' victory as a backlash against Thompson, adding, "Thompson assumed the role not only of leader but of spokesman for the whole church."

Andrews mostly concurs with the concept of a looser leadership. Said he after his election: "I never expect to hear the Stated Clerk referred to as chief executive officer again." Although he may occasionally prove more outspoken politically than conservatives expect ("If the situation is critical, and the policy base is there, I don't see the Stated Clerk has a whole lot of choice"), he does want to bring about Presbyterian concord after the conflicts of recent years. "Life," says Andrews, "is a process of mutual back-scratching." —By Richard N. Ostling.

Reported by Jack Lavelle/Phoenix



Stated Clerk James Andrews

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Education

Words of Hope and Warning

Diversity is the dominant theme for the class of '84

Among the waves of mortarboards at commencements across the U.S. this year, several, as usual, bore signs and greetings. One at the University of California at Berkeley offered a proud—and significant—variation on the customary III. MOM. It read: III, I AM MOM. The message aptly symbolized the presence of older generations among 1984's 1.37 million graduates. Mario Savio, 41, a leader of the Free Speech Movement at Berkeley in 1964, finally earned a physics degree, *summa cum laude*, from San Francisco State University at Lehman College of City University of New York, Joseph Lipner, 83, was named to Phi Beta Kappa and graduated with high honors. Foreign-born students, too, went to the head of their classes. New York's City College valedictorian, Chi ("Christopher") Luu, of Viet Nam, entered this country only five years ago, unable to speak English. Commencement speakers, an unprecedented number of whom were women, reflected the notable diversity of the graduates and ranked widely over topics from the dangers of nuclear war to the merits of wandering. Nor did the speakers neglect some themes that spring eternal. At Middlebury College in Vermont, Actor Burgess Meredith urged: "Make love! Propagate!" A commencement sampler.

Behavioral Scientist B.F. Skinner at Colby College in Waterville, Me.: "Orwell painted a strange portrait of what the world would be in 1984, and across this nation this spring, commencement speakers will be comparing that prediction with what has actually happened. Do we believe that war is peace? That freedom is slavery, that ignorance is strength? We used to have a Department of War and a Secretary of War, now we have a Department of Defense and a Secretary of Defense. But we have not gone as far as Orwell predicted and renamed it the Department of Love and the Secretary of Love. It's true we are watched all the time by television cameras when we go into our bank even though we are not planning to rob it or go into a supermarket even though we are not planning to do any shoplifting. But we've not yet learned to love Big Brother as Orwell predicted, and we are not quite ready to believe that two and two are five."

Former U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union Thomas J. Watson at the University of Vermont in Burlington: "Are you satisfied that no progress has been made on nuclear treaties in three years? Are you satisfied that Soviet-American relations are at an alltime low? I talked to a Rus-



B.F. Skinner



John K. Galbraith



Thomas J. Watson



Loret Miller Ruppe



Jane Alexander



Franklin A. Thomas



Geoffrey R. Stone



Mary H. Futrell

sian last week whom I knew quite well in Moscow. He was over here on a visit. He said, 'You know, Tom, we always looked at you as competitors; we sometimes looked at you as adversaries; now we have forced us to look at you as enemies.' The Soviets will never be our friends. On the other hand, they're here on this small planet with you and me, and we've got to learn to live with the Soviets or we're surely going to destroy each other."

Actress Jane Alexander at Sarah Lawrence College in Bronxville, N.Y.: "We are in a society where there are no leaders

of any note because there are no followers. There are no followers because most of us are operating on independent initiative and in small clusters. Privately we do have our heroes and heroines, but we don't talk about them much publicly. How do you share with others that you secretly admire Marge tremendously because not only does she care wonderfully for her family but she has the best vegetable garden in Yonkers, she led the coalition to the town council for a clean-water bill, and last year she managed to climb Kilimanjaro with a group of bird watchers? These are our leaders: local heroes."

Law Professor Geoffrey R. Stone at the University of Chicago: "This spring marks the 30th anniversary of the decision of the United States Supreme Court in *Brown vs. Board of Education*. It is difficult to conceive that only 30 years ago blatant, open and legally enforced racism, with its degrading humiliations, was a fact of life in more than one-third of our nation. *Brown* was a triumph for the Justices of the United States Supreme Court, whose vision and understanding enabled them fundamentally to recast our constitutional law. You must remember that you too hold beliefs that your children or your children's children will rightly regard as naive, foolish, or perhaps even obscene. You must be prepared to reform your world, just as the Justices in *Brown* were willing to reform theirs. You must challenge the nature of things."

Economist John Kenneth Galbraith at American University in Washington: "The commencement speech is not, I think, a wholly satisfactory manifestation of our culture. There is the problem of the audience: its members' thoughts, inevitably on this day, are divided between nostalgic reflection on the joyful years just past and a justified sense of trepidation over the tasks, the travail, even the terrors, of the years to come. There are also the stern constraints on commencement oratory. It must eschew anything that smacks of partisan politics, political preference, sex, religion or unduly firm opinion. Nonetheless, there must be a speech; speeches in our culture are the vacuum that fills a vacuum."

Peace Corps Director Loret Miller Ruppe at the University of Notre Dame in South Bend, Ind.: "Be involved in your family, in your community, in your job. Give it your all. Even as the Peace Corps Act mandates sharing America's talents and skills with that big world out there, please share your talents and skills with the world around you. Some of you might take the step of joining our work in helping the developing world, but all of you should help in development work in your own homes, churches and communities."

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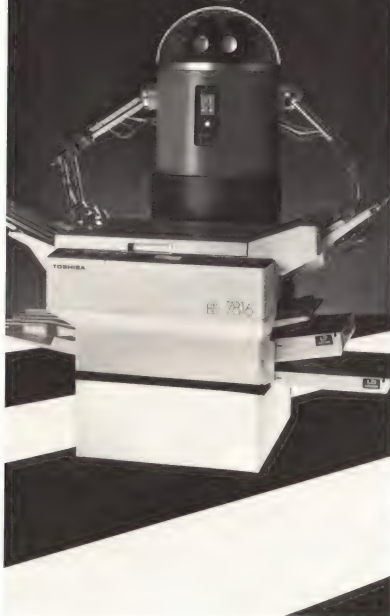
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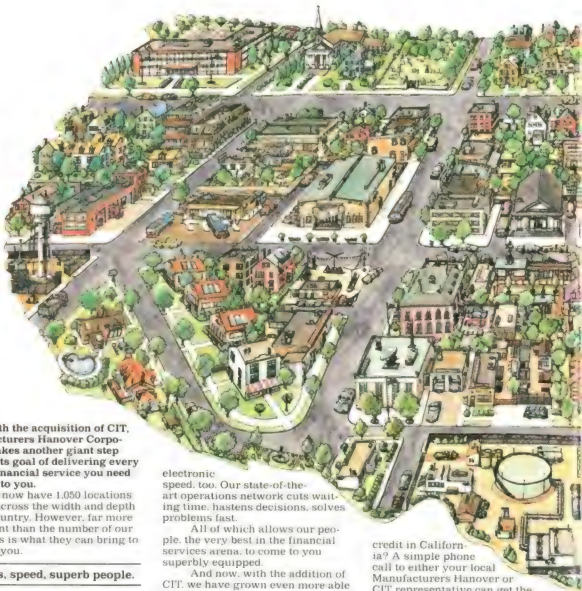
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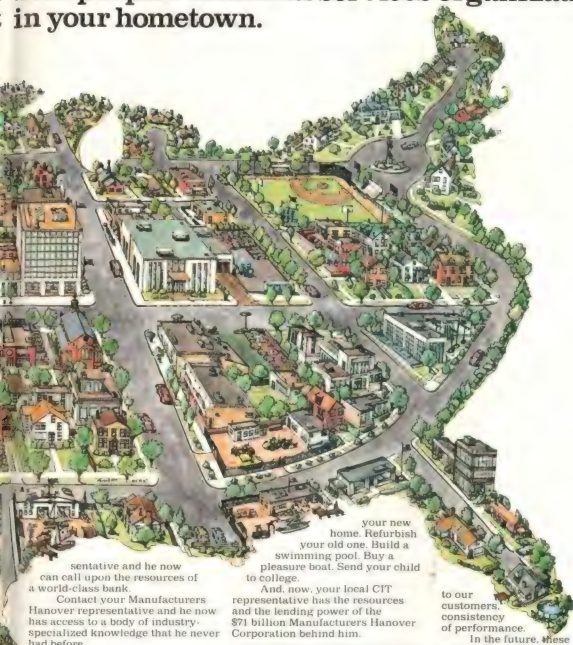
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Ford Foundation President Franklin A. Thomas at Cooper Union in New York City: "Our generation, the offspring of immigrants, seems to be more tolerant of other cultures and creeds. Perhaps pluralism begets pluralism. In our time immigration policy is an extension of foreign policy. In America's struggle for influence in the world, our most potent tool is not the ideological pamphlet or the shipment of arms or even economic aid. It is the example of a free, tolerant and prosperous America. Other countries may triumph at global conferences where world representatives vote with their hands. But America seems to win every contest whenever the world's people have an opportunity to vote with their feet."

National Education Association President Mary Hatwood Futrell at George Washington University in Washington: "I want to see our brightest students intellectually challenged to their utmost. I also want to see more students exposed to rigorous math and science courses. But I don't want to see America's educational system become an educational assembly line. Education should serve to increase rather than decrease human differences in one's ability to contribute to society. Our students must know how to compute. But they also must be able to factor in the social implications of their computations."

Connecticut Representative Barbara B. Kennelly at Mount Holyoke College in South Hadley, Mass.: "Our nation no longer has the luxury of deferring women's full participation at every level of government. Our very future, our children's future depend on this nation's beginning to listen and to incorporate women's intellectual and moral attitudes into its decision-making bodies. Please do not interpret my remarks to mean that I am trying to resurrect some 19th century stereotype of women being better than men, angels posed on pedestals. Rather I simply note that women, perhaps because of our long history of being powerless, do seem to have a different attitude toward power, an attitude that goes beyond the traditional male concept that every conflict reaches resolution when there is a winner and a loser. In nuclear conflict, there are no winners, only losers."

Joseph Cardinal Bernardin, Archbishop of Chicago, at Emory University in Atlanta: "I am neither blind to the danger nor sympathetic to the imposition of an alien ideology in Central America. We have an obligation to resist this. But the means used to oppose such a possibility must be consistent with our constitutional and cultural traditions. Today the face we show the world in Central America does not reflect the best of either of those traditions. My plea is for perspective and purpose in keeping the nuclear peace and building a secure and just peace in Central America. Such an effort surely requires policy wisdom, but it also requires a certain quality of citizen vision."

South African Playwright Athol Fugard at Georgetown University in Washington: "I am talking about the living of a life at the most mundane level, and what I am saying is that at that level—at the level of our daily lives—one man or woman meeting with another man or woman is finally the central arena of history."



Barbara B. Kennelly



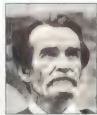
Robert Coles



Cardinal Bernardin



Joan B. Kennedy



Athol Fugard



King Juan Carlos



Coretta Scott King



Ann H. Zwinger

Civil Rights Leader Coretta Scott King at Pomona College in Claremont, Calif.: "I believe the dramatic increases in voter registration we have recently seen provide hope that we can begin to turn this nation around. When we make politics a crusade, politicians will begin to understand that they must serve all of the people and not just a select few. When we make politics a crusade, we can put a stop to this insane, suicidal nuclear arms race which is destroying our economy and terrifying our children. When we make politics a crusade, we can make the Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution the law of the land. We can

elect a new generation of political leaders committed to creating a society free from race and sex discrimination."

Psychiatrist and Pulitzer Prizewinner Robert Coles at Beloit College in Wisconsin: "The people who gave us America were people who stood up and said, 'I believe what I believe, and I'm ready to die for that faith.' Abraham Lincoln did not go to Gettysburg having commissioned a poll to find out what would sell in Gettysburg. There were no people with percentages for him, cautioning him about this group or that group or what they found in exit polls a year earlier. When will we have the courage of Lincoln? The only thing that makes this life worth living is some kind of moral self-respect, which in turn connects with what we believe in."

Joan Bennett Kennedy at Manhattanville College in Purchase, N.Y.: "The most important thing I can share with you is the personal knowledge that decisions are not irrevocable, that choices do come back, sometimes in different forms and in different ways, but they can be remade. And there is time, time to shape a balance between family and friends, work and career. Life is not only knowing what you want but what you'll settle for."

King Juan Carlos of Spain at Harvard: "Nineteen ninety-two will be the 500th anniversary of one of the most important happenings in human history: the arrival in America of the three Castilian caravels chartered by my ancestors, the Catholic monarchs, and commanded by Christopher Columbus. It is not so much a historical commemoration as a horizon on which together we must fix our sights. Nobody can deny that there are enormous and highly complex problems in Hispanic America. But there are new leaders today who are determined to tackle the most intractable of them. An example of an important achievement in this respect is the restoration of democratic institutions in Argentina, which has been a cause for rejoicing among all the Hispanic nations. There is an obvious need for dialogue between the two Americas, a dialogue that would be beneficial for both of them, and, in fact, for the entire world."

Naturalist and Author Ann H. Zwinger at Carleton College in Northfield, Minn.: "Wandering is one of the most sensible things in the world to do. I highly recommend the pursuit of happiness from east to west, bending and stooping, pausing, enjoying, not going anywhere in particular except down a beach or around a pond, always knowing that there is something wonderful just ahead. City street or country lane, for the naturalist there is always something to see: lichen puddled on the granite, a new fern frond uncurling like a mainspring, a pad of brilliant green moss studded with a scarlet mite. Ask why, and for every question you answer you'll have a bouquet of another dozen questions. And herein lies sanity." ■

Law

Reining In Juveniles and Aliens

The high court rules on preventive detention and deportation

Fourteen-year-old Gregory Martin was arrested in New York City in 1977 for robbing another youth of his jacket and sneakers. A family-court judge ordered Martin held under New York's preventive-detention law. That meant the teenager was being confined not to ensure his appearance at trial but because he was regarded as a serious risk to commit new crimes while waiting for his case to come up. Martin and his attorney filed a class action on behalf of all children in preventive detention in New York State, and won in two federal courts. Last week the U.S. Supreme Court overturned those decisions and ruled that preventive detention was constitutionally valid for juveniles. The decision has national import, since every state has provision for preventive custody of accused young delinquents.

Justice William Rehnquist, writing for the 6-to-3 majority, was careful to confine the opinion to juveniles; the high court has never ruled on the legality of preventive-detention laws for adults. Rehnquist wrote that society has an obligation to protect children from the consequences of their own actions, and that their right to freedom from outside control is reduced by the fact that "juveniles, unlike adults, are always in some form of custody."

Writing in dissent, Justice Thurgood Marshall found this reasoning "difficult to take seriously." Marshall stated that Rehnquist seemed to be saying that incarceration in often dangerous juvenile jails is comparable to parental supervision at home. Marshall was concerned about the



An accused teen-age delinquent marks time in a holding facility. Children "are always in some form of custody."

breadth of the New York law, which allows a family-court judge to hold a child in preventive detention no matter what his crime or prior record.

Reagan Administration officials praised the high-court ruling. Said Alfred Regnery, director of juvenile programs for the Justice Department: "It recognizes

that juvenile crime is serious business that needs to be dealt with seriously." But others were appalled. New York University Law Professor Martin Guggenheim, who handled Martin's Supreme Court appeal, denounced the decision as a "throwback to pre-20th century law," when children had few rights. Some critics thought it was especially unfortunate that the high court upheld the New York law, since Guggenheim had convinced two lower federal courts that it was being used as a vehicle to impose punishments on unconvicted youngsters. Martin, for instance, was held in preventive detention for 15 days because it was considered too risky to release him before his juvenile fact-finding hearing. Eventually, he was tried, convicted and sent home on two years' probation.

In another conservative decision, the Supreme Court last week ruled unanimously that aliens seeking to avoid deportation on political grounds must show a "clear probability" that they will be persecuted in their home countries. That stringent standard had been softened by a federal appeals court, which found it was enough to show a "well-founded fear" of persecution. But the Supreme Court decision was not as much of a blow to those seeking permission to stay in this country for political reasons as it first seemed. The court carefully limited the ruling to those trying to avoid deportation and left for another day the standards refugees must meet to gain formal asylum.

—By Michael S. Serrill
Reported by Anne Constable/Washington

Milestones

BORN. To **Caroline**, 27, Princess of Monaco, and her husband of 5½ months, **Stefano Casiraghi**, 23, Italian businessman: a son, their first child and heir to the principality after his uncle Prince Albert, in Monte Carlo. Name: *Andréa-Albert Grace*. Weight: 6 lbs. 6 oz.

ENGAGED. **Kathleen Turner**, 29, sleek and sexy movie actress (*Body Heat*, *Romancing the Stone*); and **Jay Weiss**, 29, New York City real estate developer. The wedding, the first for both, is set for August.

ENGAGED. **Sigourney Weaver**, 34, cool, willowy actress (*The Year of Living Dangerously*, *Ghostbusters*); and **Jim Simpson**, 28, a theatrical director; in Honolulu. The marriage will be the first for both.

DIED. **Fuad Mohiaddin**, 58, Prime Minister of Egypt since January 1982, secretary-general of the ruling National Democratic Party, and No. 2 man in the regime of President Hosni Mubarak; of a heart attack, following a seizure three weeks ago

that was aggravated by his refusal to follow doctors' orders to abandon strict fasting during the holy month of Ramadan: in Cairo. A Deputy Prime Minister under President Anwar Sadat, Mohiaddin formed the first Mubarak Cabinet after Sadat's assassination in October 1981. Though Mubarak praised him as having done his duty "to perfection," the Prime Minister had been criticized for his purported reluctance to carry out democratic reforms the President had advocated.

DIED. **J. Paul Lyet**, 67, chairman from 1972 to 1982 of Sperry Corp.; of cancer: in New York City. A C.P.A. from a brass-knuckled North Philadelphia slum, he was working for the New Holland farm machinery company when it was taken over by Sperry in 1947; he kept that operation running profitably during the 1960s when the company's Univac division was bungling its head-to-head computer competition with IBM. As Sperry's boss, he more than tripled revenues to \$5.6 billion, pushed for high-tech sales to the Soviet Union, expanded ex-

ports so that 44% of Sperry's business was overseas, then saw foreign currency and interest fluctuations curtail company earnings before his retirement.

DIED. **Peter C. Wilson**, 71, English art salesman extraordinary and longtime chairman of Sotheby's, the world's leading auction firm, who was responsible for transforming the genteel, Old World establishment into a glamorous high-tech \$575 million-a-year business; of the effects of diabetes: in Paris. After joining Sotheby's in 1936 as a porter, the normally reticent Wilson became a nonpareil auctioneer, dubbed the "fastest gavel in the West." Rising to chairman in 1958, he set about overseas expansion, establishing offices in Europe, Asia, Latin America and the U.S., notably in New York City with the acquisition of Parke Bernet. His taste, timing and towering presence (6 ft. 4 in.) helped him to engineer precedent-breaking sales, including the first auction (1965) to use a television satellite to connect London and New York showrooms.

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Living

Access Reinvents the Guidebook

Opening up cities block by block, door by door

Like traveler's checks and Lomitol, guidebooks are a necessary nuisance. All too often the information they contain is inadequate, ill written and, worst of all, irrationally organized. Yet how else to find out which museum has the Raphaels and where they serve good veal? In a radical approach to the genre, a two-year-old Los Angeles publishing company named AccessPress Ltd. has, under the guidance of its founder, Architect-Cartographer Richard Saul Wurman, 49, reinvented the wheel with a series of compact volumes that open up cities through striking graphics, terse copy and a tight format.

Most guidebooks, claims Wurman, "ghettoize information," putting hotels, restaurants, shopping, museums, nightclubs and other attractions in separate sections. By contrast, Access guides note them as an alert pedestrian would, door by door, block by block. To make sites easier to spot on the page, they are color-coded (red for restaurants and nightlife, green for parks, and so on) and profusely illustrated. The exquisitely limned maps are models of graceful lucidity.

This discipline is particularly evident in the books' capsule architectural notes (color-coded blue) on outstanding buildings, a subject often neglected by other guides. The *NYC Access* entry on the design of the Waldorf-Astoria hotel ("an understated and elegantly detailed composition") reports such esoteric details as the underground railroad station from which Franklin Roosevelt was whisked to his suite by a secret elevator. The books abound in learned footnotes and pleasant trivia (the pianist at the Waldorf's Peacock Alley uses an instrument once owned by Cole Porter, who lived in the hotel). New York restaurant critiques, by *Daily News* Food Editor Arthur Schwartz, are deft and sometimes devastating. At the toplofty "21" Club, the guide observes, "it is surprising how democratic the cooks and waiters are: no one gets terrific food or service."

Other grace notes on the "best" New York has to offer are contributed by old hands such as Jimmy Breslin, Beverly Sills and Walter Cronkite. But the bulk of

the text is prepared by local experts and visiting writers who often have a fresher eye for detail than most natives. In every section, one guiding spirit can be detected: Wurman's childhood hero, Paul Klee. He explains, "Klee's paintings had a shorthand that described action, feeling, color, mood. They were not about painting but communication and visual literacy." The overall technique could be a model for future encyclopedias. In *Hawaii Access*, for example, there are entries on surfing and shells that are definitive in guidebook terms. *San Francisco Access* includes such regional lore as the mechanics of the cable car and the winemaking process.

Wurman started AccessPress when he moved to Los Angeles, found himself lost in the maze of freeways and suburbs, and assumed that many other people must be puzzled too. Publishing experts counseled him to print no more than 5,000 copies of his prototype guide; he sold 60,000. Access guides on how to cope with San Francisco, Hawaii, New York City and even football followed, with total sales of some 580,000. New guides to Washington, D.C., dogs and baseball are now out, with future fields as bright as a Klee painting.

Always alert to what is new, Wurman continues to think originally about how each book should be done. The new guide to New Orleans was published this year in time for the fair. A *TV Viewer's Guide* to the Los Angeles Olympic Games sold 4 million before it even went to press; Portuguese- and Japanese-language editions of the TV Olympic guide are also available. In the fall a Tokyo source-

book will be bilingual. In 1982 Frank Stanton, former president of CBS Inc., bought a half interest in AccessPress, giving it the financial base for further expansion. Within the next three years the partners plan books on Chicago, London, money and investments. Wurman, a TV fan, is contemplating an *Access* for popular programs such as *Dallas*. Soon to come is a guide to hospitalization. Anyone with less energy than Wurman would need one already.



Creator Wurman



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Art

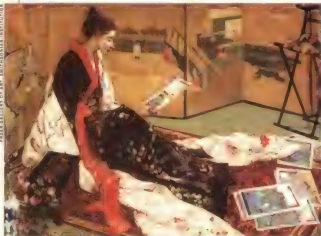
Pleasures of the Iron Butterfly

On his 150th anniversary, fresh views of Whistler

Among the thousands of nasty quips and barbed conceits that James Abbott McNeill Whistler sped at the world, the only one that everyone knows is perhaps apocryphal. Oscar Wilde, in admiration of some Whistlerian *mot*: "Jimmy, I wish I had said that." Whistler: "You will, Oscar, you will." In all his long career Whistler produced only one painting that enjoyed the same permanent celebrity as this riposte, and it, of course, is *Arrangement in Gray and Black, No. 1: Portrait of the Painter's Mother*, 1872, one of the

show, for its context as well as its contents. Charles Lang Freer, who made his millions in rolling stock in the boom railroad years of the late 19th century, was an impassioned Orientalist, a disciple of the "Boston bonzes," chiefly of Ernest Fenollosa. As Bernard Berenson fanned the ardor of the American rich for the Italian Renaissance, so Fenollosa was busy shaping a American taste for Oriental art. He adored Whistler's work, calling him "the nodule, the universalizer, the interpreter of East to West." Freer concurred, and in the 1890s

land. This stupendous decorative work done in gold, silver and platinum on a turquoise ground—which was itself painted over ancient paneling of cordovan leather, reputedly salvaged from the Spanish Armada—caused a bitter crackup between Leyland and Whistler and provoked a ferocious letter from the patron: "Your vanity has completely blinded you to all the usages of civilized life, and your swaggering self-assertion has made you an unbearable nuisance to everyone who comes in contact with you... [You have] degenerated into nothing but an artistic Barnum." But the Peacock Room has few if any rivals as the greatest decorated chamber of the late 19th century. All the irritable whiplash elegance of art nouveau is latent in its plutocratic birds. No won-



Irish geisha: *Caprice in Purple and Gold: The Golden Screen*, 1864



French twilight: *Symphony in White and Red*, ca. 1868

half-dozen most famous pictures of the 19th century. The reasons for his fame are obscure and debatable, but the results are plain to see: "Whistler's Mother" swamped the rest of his output, turning him (at least in the eyes of the public after his death) into a one-painting man. A quip and a portrait of an old lady from North Carolina: on such thin pedestals do legends rest.

There was, of course, much more to Whistler, as both man and artist, than this. He has never faded from view, yet he remains poised for rediscovery; and 1984, which marks the 150th anniversary of his birth, is the right year for it. The Hunterian Museum in Glasgow has put 79 of its Whistler oils on view until November. In the U.S. the main Whistlerian event, which opened last month at the Freer Gallery in Washington, D.C., and will run until December, is a display of paintings, drawings and notes, more than 300 in all, curated by Art Historian David Park Curry and assembled from the Freer's own collection, the world's largest source of Whistler material.

The Freer exhibition is a fascinating

he became Whistler's chief patron—not always an easy role, since Whistler could go for the hand that fed him like an amphetamine-crazed Doberman. Freer also consulted Whistler about his Oriental purchases, so that in Washington one can see some highly informative parallels between Whistler's work and his taste in other art. There are, for instance, two majestic Satsuma-ware sake flasks, with a glaze the color and texture of old, cracked ivory, adorned with faint blue landscape paintings by Tangen, whose ghostly suggestiveness, mere scribbles wreathing out of the whiteness as though through fog, is exactly like Whistler's own images of twilight landscape.

Best of all, the Freer Gallery has the only interior or by Whistler that survives: the Peacock Room, 1876-77, done in collaboration with the architect Thomas Jeckyll for the London house of the shipping baron Frederick Ley-

der Freer had to save it and bring it across the Atlantic.

Leyland was not altogether wrong about Whistler. The man was an egomaniac, a fop and a publicity-crazed liar—traits which perhaps should, but actually do not, prevent people from being serious artists. He lived most of his life as a string of fictions and adjustments. Born in Lowell, Mass., the son of a former military engineer whom he hated with Oedipal intensity, Whistler "reconstructed" his childhood to focus on his doting Southern mother. "I shall be born when and where I want," he piped in his high, wispish voice, "and I do not choose to be born in Lowell." Instead he became a self-made tide-water gentleman, a Southern cavalier who left it to others to figure out why when the Civil War came he did not fight in it. His military career consisted of a few years at West Point, from which he was expelled



Self-portrait, 1857-58

for academic incompetence.

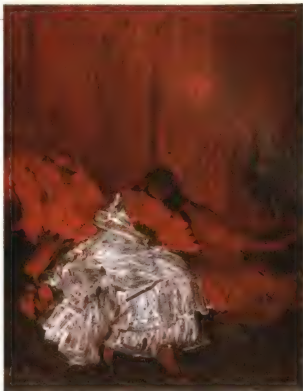
Though a virulent racist, Whistler did not confine his obloquies to blacks and Jews. He was litigious, a penchant that contributed to his bankruptcy when he sued John Ruskin for libel, won token damages of a farthing but had to pay heavy legal costs, losing his house, his studio contents and his famous collection of blue-and-white porcelain. "There's a combative artist named Whistler," ran a limerick by his Pre-Raphaelite friend Dante Gabriel Rossetti,

*Who is, like his own
hog's-hair, a
bristler:
A tube of white lead
And a punch on the
head
Offer varied attractions
to Whistler.*

He was fixated on his mother and did not marry until he was 54 and she was dead. His mannerisms were effeminate, and when excited he pranced about like a peahen on hot bricks. "Whistler," Degas once cried as the American sailed into a Paris restaurant, "you've forgotten your muff!"

At 60 he had become a darting little creature of surfaces, more like a basilisk than the butterfly he used as his emblem. It took one dandy to see into another, and the novelist Joris-Karl Huysmans, author of *A Rebours*, picked out the practical, fussy American perched within the Whistlerian shell: "W. is always eating pickled cucumbers and butter. He is nice—almost simple in his highfalutin manner... there is something of a meticulous old maid about him."

Quite the Grandma Moses, in fact; yet he seems to have had no homosexual life. A stream of cocottes, demiresses and actresses passed through his London and Paris studios, leaving their traces—pert, sly, lascivious—in images like *Red and Pink: La Petite Mephisto*, circa 1880, with its wanton froth of tulle gleaming like a nocturnal peony from the sullen red room. He was the Watteau of the music halls, and his nude drawings are carried out with a tender, nervous line that, heightened with flicks of chalk, does recall that master. But his main inspiration for such work was Japanese *ukiyo-e* (pictures of the floating world), the scenes of the Edo print. Whistler loved these, and in *Caprice in Purple and Gold: The Golden Screen*, 1864, his red-haired Irish mistress Jo Heffernan, dressed as a geisha, is seen studying what might be some Hiroshige woodblock prints.



Traces of actresses: *Red and Pink: La Petite Mephisto*, ca. 1880

In the sullen red room, the Watteau of the music hall.

If Whistler had been content to do pieces of studio exotica and *Japonaiserie*, he would not have his place in art history. He wanted to go further, integrating the "Japanese aesthetic" into the texture of late 19th century European experience. Whistler was enraptured by the half-seen, the evanescent, the image that vanishes almost before it can be named. Hence his predilection for moments in the life of landscape that are about to slide into illegibility: the moody vistas like *Nocturne: Blue and Silver—Battersea Reach*, 1870-75, in which forms preserve the last vestiges of themselves—boat, horizon, crane, bridge—before they are utterly lost in the blue darkness; the fog scenes with their pearly chaos, or the tiny seascape sketches in which a mood is fixed with seeming in-



Moody vistas: *Nocturne: Blue and Silver—Battersea Reach*, 1870-75

stantaneity, each ribbon and bubble in the paint surface corresponding by inspired accident to a wavelet, a patch of foam or a pebble. With their elegant abstractions and syncretizations of form, such paintings look back to the high decorative art of the Edo period, to Ogata Korin or Suzuki Kiitsu, but they also look forward, in their indeterminacy, to Monet's water lilies at Giverny.

Whistler loathed narrative and fervently espoused the idea of art for art's sake. Hence his abstract and musical titles—"Arrangement," "Symphony" and the like. In France, where he had studied, this desire for an amoral, formalized art had been mooted 40 years earlier by writers like Théophile Gautier. But in London it was quite new (the time lag across the Channel was immense), and in making propaganda for it, Whistler became a scandalous figure. When the dying industrial baron in Kipling's *The "Mary Gloster"* (1894) speaks to his effeminate son, one knows he has Whistler's influence in mind:

*... the things I knew
was rotten you said
was the way to live.
For you muddled with books and
pictures, an' china an' eichin's
an' fans,
And your rooms at college was
beastly—more like a whore's
than a man's:*

Such was the dread influence of the Aesthetic Movement, whose dragon Whistler became.

In the last years of his life (he died in 1903, just outliving Beardsley and Wilde, who owed so much to his ideas and style), Whistler was seen as an honored veteran and not an avant-garde figure; his paintings had lost whatever experimental look they once had, and were surpassed by impressionism. Curiously, his biggest influence was on writing. Poets like Stéphane Mallarmé found their own cult of the indeterminate, the penumbra of experience, confirmed in his work. The Whistlerian landscape of the Thames kept turning up in English poetry for another generation—not least in *The Waste Land*, with its "brown fog of a winter dawn" lying on London Bridge. Marcel Proust so adored him that he purloined one of his gloves, as a souvenir, at a reception. Meanwhile, the paintings have beautifully survived: strict in taste, limited in range, precise in key, and never, ever, cloying. —By Robert Hughes

Cinema

The Long and the Short of It

The Ladd Co. fiddles with an epic while Sergio Leone burns

Manhattan, 1933. A pretty, blond woman walks alone into her darkened apartment. With a thrill of apprehension, Eve (Darlaine Fluegel) walks toward her big bed and slowly pulls down the top sheet. There, outlined in bullet holes, is the silhouette of her gangster lover, Noodles Aaronson. On the table beside her, Noodles' framed photograph is abruptly smashed by a burly hand. "Where is he?" demands the intruder. Eve doesn't know, but it doesn't matter: two bullets from a muted revolver send her reeling back, dead, to fill her lover's silhouette. This is the first scene of Sergio Leone's *Once upon a Time in America*.

Manhattan, 1921. A lovely, dark-haired girl, just approaching her teens, dances alone to the torpid ecstasy of a phonograph record in the back room of a Lower East Side tavern. Through a crack in the wall, a boy about the same age watches, transfixed. The dance over, Deborah (Jennifer Connelly) turns her back to the boy and slips out of her white chiffon dress, displaying herself in a vision that the young Noodles Aaronson will carry throughout his long, violent life. This is the first scene of the Ladd Co.'s *Once upon a Time in America*.

Now playing at movie theaters not very near you: the two versions of Director Leone's \$28 million gangster epic. If you wish to see the sprawling, lurid, hallucinatory film cut to Leone's specifications at 3 hr. 47 min., you need only make a pilgrimage to Paris (where the film opened to good business two weeks ago) or, later this month, to a single theater in Chicago, where the Leone version will have its American premiere. If you want to see the Ladd Co.'s cut—brisk, less ambitious and audacious, dramatically more coherent at 2 hr. 24 min.—you can see it on 894 screens in North America. Both versions have their pleasures and problems; both look like the battered survivors of the movie industry's protracted war between directors and distributors.

At the heart of both films is a cautionary fable that spans nearly five decades of American antisocial history: from 1921, when a teen-age gang of Jewish punks assemblies in their Manhattan ghetto, to 1933, when the gang's leaders, Noodles (Robert De Niro) and Max (James Woods), tumble into betrayal, to 1968,

when the old men meet to act out their perverse codes of honor. Leone filmed the story in the luscious, mythic style that he developed in his popular "spaghetti westerns" with Clint Eastwood and perfected in *Once upon a Time in the West* (1969), an outsider's glorious, besotted tribute to



De Niro and Woods; below, Fluegel

Vision of a long, violent life.

classical Hollywood cinema. This time, though, the characters are not grand, strutting archetypes. Noodles and Max, their henchmen and adversaries, are spindly figures lost in venality; and Leone's film, true to its subject, is cold, brooding and brutal.

This is a gangster film, so the screen pulses with gunfire and garting. There are scenes as sweet as one of a boy's bringing a charlotte russe as payment for his first sexual encounter, then greedily devouring his pastry when the girl takes too long to show up, and moments as gruesome as Noodles' back-seat rape of Deborah (Elizabeth McGovern), the only woman he ever loved. But *America* is, first and

last, a European art film that rarely accelerates into the power drive of a slick Hollywood vehicle. Instead it tells its story in the form of a hashish pipedream conjured up by Noodles, slipping back to memories of 1921 and forward to a nightmare of 1968 as whim and reverie possess this gangster on the lam. Leone is less interested in arousing an audience's easier emotions than in presenting, at a dispassionate distance, the horror of two men warily walking toward each other on a tightrope suspended above the snake pit of their deepest compulsions.

The Ladd Co., beset in the past year by the commercial flops of *The Right Stuff*, *Star 80* and *Mike's Murder*, could not have been happy to find itself with one more auteurist fantasia. When Leone delivered his film at an hour over the contracted 2 hr. 45 min., a team headed by Editor Zach Staenberg went to work, putting the story into chronological order, jettisoning some of the most operatically violent scenes, dropping Deborah (and her child by Max) from the 1968 section and giving Max a

new way out of his climactic misery. Says Jay Kanter, vice president of the Ladd Co.: "We thought Leone's original was a wonderful picture. But the response to the first preview caused us to rethink the situation. Besides, at 3 hr. 45 min., theaters would be limited to just one show a night."¹² As it happens, Staenberg performed an adroit, sympathetic salvage job, but to little box-office effect. The shortened *America* opened the same day as *Star Trek III: The Search for Spock*, and in the first week, as the starship *Enterprise* was bearing up \$25.2 million, *America* earned only \$3.2 million.

"My film was a homage to the American films I love," Leone told TIME Correspondent Denise Worrell at the Cannes Film Festival last month, "and to *America* itself. It is the film's tragedy, and that of the Ladd Co., that it will be destroyed in the country it was above all intended for. But you know distributors, and Ladd is far from the worst. One distributor for a country in the Middle East said he wanted to buy the film, but only if we took out all the Jewish parts!" Even now, Leone is planning to release a "full" version—all 4 hr. 10 min.—to Italian television in three years. And after that, who knows where it might show up? Perhaps in some future life, Leone's flawed, fascinating epic will live happily ever after... in America.

—By Richard Corliss



Leone



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—*Car and Driver*, Dec. 1983
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Books

Witness for the Prosecution

INTIMATE MEMOIRS by Georges Simenon; Translated by Harold J. Salemsen
Harcourt Brace Jovanovich; 815 pages; \$22.95

A few facts in the case of Author Georges Simenon, 81, are not in dispute. He has written more than 400 books, some 220 under his own name, including the immensely popular Inspector Maigret novels. The native-born Belgian had scarcely launched his career in Paris during the 1920s when the money began rolling in; royalties and subsidiary rights reaped from the movies and TV made him wealthy many times over. His personal life has not matched the success of his career. A first marriage lasted some 20 years and produced one son. When his secretary-mistress became pregnant, Simenon looked at the legal problems he might face and demanded a divorce. He married his assistant; they had three children before a vitriolic estrangement. In May 1978 his third child and only daughter, then 25, shot and killed herself in her Paris apartment.

Grief-stricken, Simenon felt an understandable need to make sense out of Marie-Jo's suicide. He began a journal, addressed to his sons and particularly to his late daughter. His first entry assures her: "This book will be not mine but yours." Not true. As it took voluminous shape day after day, *Intimate Memoirs* became exclusively Simenon's, his rambling attempt to prove, as he assures the dead Marie-Jo, that "I have nothing to apologize for."

The evidence does not support this assertion, although Simenon, who provides reams of it, never realizes what a telling witness he is for his own prosecution. "Did I have periods of snobbery?" he asks his children and concludes that "I can frankly answer no." Yet he cannot forbear reminding them of all the impressive people and places they have experienced, thanks solely to their relationship to him. While he was hobnobbing with crowned heads and the likes of Chaplin, Cocteau and Jean Renoir, he always made sure that the physicians who watched over him and his growing brood were "world famous," or at the very least "big." At Hotchkiss, one of the innumerable schools they attended, trailing behind their father's impulse to establish, then break up permanent homes, there was the doctor who "treats the sons of some of the most important

Excerpt

“When Teresa leaves us alone, as she always does, you look at me almost with hardness, and I am afraid to understand

... You say to me indeed, as if suffocating with rage: 'Why her and not me?'

'Don't you understand, my little girl?'

'Understand what?'

I point to the bed. 'Teresa shares every part of my life.'

'So?'

I have always been afraid of what I am discovering. You point to the wedding ring you asked me to get you when you were eight. What can I answer? One day, you will speak of incest in relation to your mother, in referring to an unspeakable scene, which was such a trauma to you. And now you are saying

'Whatever she has done for you, I can do as well, can't I?'

families in the U.S., and he was not selected at random. He took care of you, Marc, and you too, Johnny, as well as me."

Simenon confronts his self-engendered reputation as a womanizer. He has claimed, in various interviews, the conquest of "tens of thousands" of women, sometimes at a pace of five a day. His message to his children shuffles the terms of his earlier boasts: "Never in my life had I had the idea of playing Pygmalion to any woman, because I have too much respect for human personality." Yet he did not like his first wife's given name, Régine, so he called her Tigy; he renamed the young woman who became their housemaid and his lover, dubbing her Boule instead of Henriette. His second wife, whom he now reviles and calls D, rather than Denise, underwent a similar transformation: "In Canada I had gotten D. to give up using makeup." Having made them, he could also break them. Tigy agreed to a divorce stipulation that she must always live within six miles of her son's father. Her alimony, Simenon confides to his children and the world, "was high, about as much in dollars as a top executive made at that time [1950], a bit under the salary of a U.S. ambassador." D gets her comeuppance in these pages, where her husband describes the mother of three of his children as a manic-depressive alcoholic given to stripping in public and calling herself a whore. As for "good old Boule," the time comes when Simenon must get rid of her too,

handing her over to his oldest son's household. He complains: "I can tell that she doesn't fully comprehend the sacrifice I am making."

Perhaps such a man should never have had a daughter. Simenon hints that D made a sexual advance toward Marie-Jo during the child's eleventh year; when the book was published in France, D sued successfully to have two passages making this charge explicit suppressed. Whatever the facts of this tangled, pathetic affair, Simenon proudly displays Marie-Jo's incestuous feelings toward him. He danced with her to the strains of the *Tennessee Waltz* wherever he and his entourage happened to alight. He wrote her passionate letters before she was twelve: "Good night, good night, my tender and delicious love," adding an odd postscript: "Please share with your wonderful mother everything I have said to you here, which is for her too. I know you are not jealous of her." Marie-Jo wore a wedding band her father had



Georges Simenon

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Books

bought her when she was eight; she was dutifully informed when Simonen began sleeping with Teresa, her mother's Italian chambermaid. When Marie-Jo killed herself, she left a request that her ashes be strewn in the garden outside the room where her father and Teresa now spend their days. Writes Simonen: "Now that you are here, have come back to your real home, the whole universe has changed in my eyes, and I feel that henceforth I can never think sad thoughts about you. We have finally gotten together again forever."

As a bereaved father, Simonen is entitled to any comfort he can find. But when he goes on to tell Marie-Jo what a splash her suicide has made in the press ("Friday, *France-Soir* published a front-page article with a very big headline"), the realization dawns that the author is parading another tribute to himself and his fame. *Intimate Memoirs* does not tell the story of a man's "attentive tenderness" toward his children, as Simonen incessantly contends; the book is a chronicle of self-love, an alternately fascinating and repellent testament of indomitable ego. —By Paul Gray

Butchery

IVAN THE TERRIBLE
by Henri Troyat
Dutton; 283 pages; \$18.95

Ivan IV, Tsar of Russia from 1533 to 1584, was not, strictly speaking, terrible. That cognomen came from a mistranslation of the Russian word *grozny*, which means something closer to "awe inspiring." Yet in just about every other sense, Ivan was ghastly enough.

No biographer has painted the tumult and suffering of Russia's past more vividly than Henri Troyat, whose previous subjects include Dostoyevsky, Pushkin, Gogol, Tolstoy and Catherine the Great. A master of the purposeful anecdote, the graceful accretion of detail that helps explain motive and madness, Troyat finds the key to Ivan's character in the ruler's early life. The heir to the throne of Muscovy was orphaned at seven, and he grew up amid endless scheming by Russia's landed aristocracy, the boyars. "Observing the brutal treatment that grown men inflicted on their fellows, he made ready to imitate them by tormenting animals," writes Troyat. "Standing on the ramparts of the Kremlin fortress, he would whirl young dogs above his head and hurl them down to the courtyard to break their bones. Their plaintive yelps satisfied an obscure need for revenge, as if these were hateful boyars he was putting to death." At 13, he no longer needed symbols. Toward the end of a banquet, he stood and ordered a boyar arrested. To the surprise of his guests, the guards obeyed, and the man was torn apart in the street by hunting dogs. By the time he was formally crowned four years later, the

adolescent firmly controlled the throne.

Young Ivan set about codifying laws, establishing schools and unifying his fractured domain. But his imperial dreams soon drowned in his own appetites. He married eight times and ordered at least one of his wives murdered. The Tsar found he enjoyed killing and torture almost as much as sex and prayer. With his sadistic elder son, also named Ivan, he would turn wild bears loose in the public square and watch them maul passers-by. Suspecting that the elders of Novgorod were making overtures to Poland, father and son spent five weeks supervising the slow deaths of as many as 60,000 of the city's inhabitants. All along, Ivan felt that he was doing heaven's work. "Having



Ivan the Terrible, circa 1550

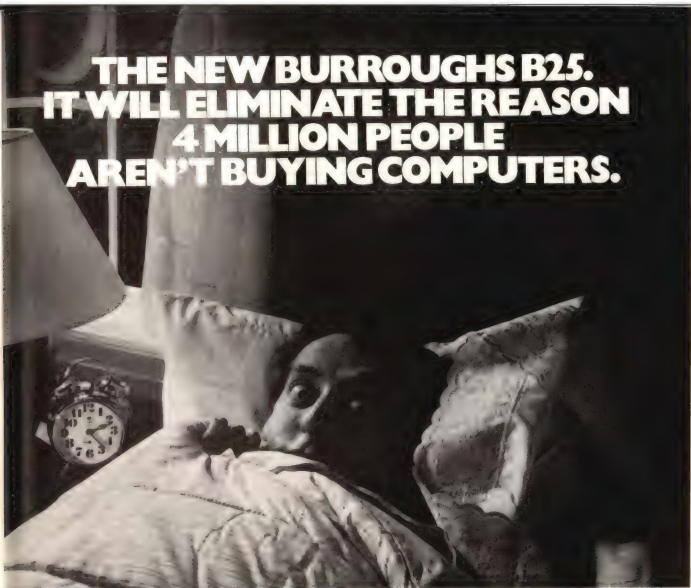
Killing and torture, then sex and prayer.

beaten, flayed, pincered, quartered and roasted, [he] plunged into a woman or into God with renewed vigor," observes Troyat. "After each series of executions, Ivan and his son were to be found in church again, in a calm and pious mood."

Though Ivan IV liked to deliver his mayhem personally, much of it was meted out by the *oprichniki*, his 6,000-member guard of thugs who terrorized the country for seven years until the Tsar abolished the group. In a fit of contrition late in his life, Ivan made a list of more than 3,000 opponents he had executed. He sent the names, along with generous sums, to monasteries for memorial prayers to be recited.

Ivan was undone in a manner that smacks of Shakespearean irony: At age 50, when he was looking forward to passing the crown to his son, Ivan struck the young man during a quarrel and killed him. The Tsar spent the last three years of his life insane with remorse, prowling his palace on sleepless nights, haunted by the ghost of his

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Books

many victims. He died during a chess game with an aide, possibly poisoned by his ambitious son-in-law Boris Godunov, but more likely felled by a gastrointestinal ailment.

An appropriate ending to a monstrous career. But was Ivan all that terrible? Or was he merely symptomatic of a cruel age? After all, even in more enlightened parts of Europe, Catholics and Protestants were slaughtering each other by the thousands, and sovereigns of all sorts ruled with vicious caprice. A whole school of historians believes that Ivan's accomplishments—unifying Russia, linking it with Europe, securing its eastern borders—outweigh his evil. Troyat declines to take sides, but his graphic accounts of imperial butchery are damning. Ivan was a beast that only a Mother Russia could love. Troyat does concede that the Tsar was revered by his people then and for centuries after. "In Russia the favor of the oppressed masses has always gone to the strongest personalities," says the biographer. "By the very terror he inspires, the tyrant keeps his hold on his people's hearts." Exactly 400 years after his death, Ivan IV retains his hold on the darker part of the Russian imagination. —*By Donald Morrison*

Cover Story

TWO-BIT CULTURE

by Kenneth C. Davis

Houghton Mifflin, 430 pages; \$18.95

The paperback book may be the greatest equalizer since the Colt .45. Mass-market, soft-cover volumes have so democratized reading in America that it is easy to forget just how recently the industry was born.

As Kenneth C. Davis points out in this diverting study, the paperback is an "amalgam of that peculiar American genius for combining culture, commerce and a little technology." The combination clicked in 1939, when Publishing Executive Robert de Graff "tossed a quarter into the toll booth at Jones Beach State Park and mused that nobody misses a quarter."

De Graff called his new company Pocket Books, and he based his economics on two principles: cut costs drastically and pump circulation so high that money could be made on a profit margin of half a cent per book. Less than two years later, the firm had its first million-seller: Dale Carnegie's *How to Win Friends and Influence People*. Publishing has never been the same. The paperback concept gained even more popularity during World War II, when the hunger for books among G.I.s was so intense that officers reported seeing "men in chow lines reading worn copies of *Moby Dick*."

But after the war, Pocket's pre-eminence began to be challenged, and Davis is at his best detailing the triumphs and misadventures of competitors. British Publisher Allen Lane, for instance, prudishly lost patience with the American

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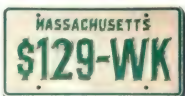
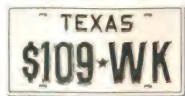
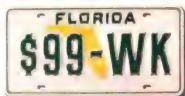
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branch of his Penguin Books when it published writers such as James M. Cain, William Faulkner and Erskine Caldwell. He suggested a new imprint—Porno Books—and the brouhaha led to the creation of the New American Library. Another rival, Ian Ballantine, founder of Ballantine Books, brought out titles as disparate as C. Wright Mills' *Listen, Yankee: Revolution in Cuba* and Harvey Kurtzman's *The Mad Reader*. Grove Press was even more perverse. Its president, Barney Rosset, delighted in challenging the courts with Henry Miller's *Tropic of Cancer* and D.H. Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover*.

Despite these and other noble experiments, including highbrow literary anthologies like *New World Writing*, the images of the paperback remained stubbornly salacious. Covers featuring undraped, terrified women were the standard offerings at the whirling drugstore



Fifties' offerings on the drugstore rack

"Appeals to sensuality and degeneracy."

rack, and traditional bookstores held the volumes at arm's length. So did many old-time publishers, who left it to secretaries to negotiate rights agreements. As late as 1952, Davis reports, a congressional committee indignantly referred to the low-priced bestsellers as "artful appeals to sensuality, immorality, filth, perversion and degeneracy." Critic Bernard DeVoto complained of "tripe merchants" producing a "culture at two bits."

Whether that culture (all too soon to be priced at \$4.95) was inherently good or evil became academic after 1960, when dollar sales from paperbacks surpassed those of adult trade hardbacks. As the author somewhat sadly recounts, publishers of soft-cover books were suddenly able to dictate their own terms. Today many of the most successful trade houses have precisely the kind of craft lists that made DeVoto choke. Not content with merely wagging the dog, the tail has taken over the beast, body and soul. No wonder *Two-Bit Culture* is simultaneously issued in paperback at \$9.95.

—By Kenneth Turan

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Learning to Live with the Blues

Too many therapists believe it is wrong to feel depressed

Abraham Lincoln called his initial bout of depression his "fatal first." It occurred on Jan. 1, 1841, when he tried unsuccessfully to break off his engagement to Mary Todd. Lincoln's melancholy was so severe he feared that he was going insane, and friends thought he might kill himself. New York City Psychiatrist Ronald Fieve wrote in 1976 that if he came across Lincoln's symptoms, he would insist on "hospitalization, observation for suicidal intent, antidepressant drugs, and later, lithium as the treatment of choice."

Psychologist Lesley Hazleton, however, says it is just as well that Fieve missed his chance to treat Lincoln. "All this for what?" she writes in her persuasive new book, *The Right to Feel Bad* (Dial; \$14.95). "For a bad depression that lasted a sum total of one week, Lincoln was lucky Fieve was not around."

Hazleton's view of depression is simple enough: she says that it is overpsychologized and overmedicalized. Her book argues that ordinary sadness and an occasional bout of the blues are now routinely given the psychiatric label "depression," and anyone admitting to bad feelings is in danger of being hustled off for a so-called cure through therapy or drugs. "Psychiatry has now taken over our lives to the extent that we rely on it to explain normal experience," she writes. "Psychologists have for the most part assented to the psychiatric definition of all depression as malfunction. And in this, psychology has failed its purpose."

Hazleton was born in England, trained in psychology at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, and now lives in New York City. She acknowledges that many of the estimated 10 million to 20 million depressed Americans are clinical cases who need help (Psychiatry defines a major depressive episode as one with a "prominent and relatively persistent" mood disturbance with symptoms present nearly every day for at least two weeks). But most of those who occasionally feel low in spirits, she says, are feeling normal, legitimate emotions.

Pop therapies, she argues, have created a climate in which feeling bad represents failure. "When depression is stigmatized as illness and weakness, a double bind is created," she writes. "If we admit to depression, we will be stigmatized by others; if we feel it but do not admit it, we stigmatize ourselves, internalizing the so-

cial judgment. Many people then find that the only remaining choice is truly sick behavior: to experience no emotion at all."

Hazleton complains about "the feminization of depression." Far more women than men are treated each year for the condition, though specialists are not sure why. A study conducted last year by the National Institute of Mental Health showed that two-thirds of U.S. depressed patients are female. One explanation is that women are simply more vulnerable.



DRAWING BY WEBER © 1973 THE NEW YORKER MAGAZINE, INC.
"Are you depressed? You always smile when you're depressed."

Maggie Scarf in her 1980 book, *Unfinished Business*, says that women get more depressed because of a greater need to be nurtured. Another explanation is that many men simply refuse to get help, or drown their blues with alcohol. Hazleton thinks men are trained to repress sadness stoically. "The truth," she writes in an uncharacteristically clumsy sentence, "is that the statistics on women and depression do not show facts so much as social and cultural trends that hide the full story by forcing men into repression for fear of being seen as feminine." Clinicians diagnose afflicted females more easily, she adds, because "it is more acceptable for a woman to be depressed."

Too many therapists, she writes, start with the proposition that people are wrong to feel downcast. Among them are proponents of the "cognitive" theory of depression, which is based on the work of Aaron Beck of the University of Pennsylvania. Beck's system, Hazleton says,

"pays no attention at all to the reasons why someone might be depressed. In fact it denies that there is any reason behind distorted perception."

In response, Beck calls Hazleton's view of his work "a travesty." Says Beck: "We always deal with causality and the basic personality problems behind depression, but first we correct misperceptions. A man may be despondent because his wife didn't call. We make him test it out—maybe she is out of town or couldn't get through. Everybody makes these corrections all the time, and depressed people need help in making them."

Hazleton has qualms about the widespread use of antidepressants. Drugs have alleviated a great deal of suffering in severe cases, she says, but their use in a normal siege of dejection is "still highly debatable" and often amounts to a form of "chemical escape" from reality.

One series of studies, says Hazleton, seems to show that antidepressants are only slightly more effective than no treatment. Researcher Allan Raskin, a psychopharmacologist at the National Institute of Mental Health, analyzed several groups of depressed patients. In a control group of untreated patients, 44% recovered spontaneously in the first year. In another survey, Raskin found a 36% improvement among patients given placebos and a 44% improvement among those who took antidepressants. "For many patients," Raskin said, "depression is a self-limiting illness with a high spontaneous recovery and a high placebo-response rate."

Writes Hazleton: "If neurotically depressed patients recover as well on placebos as on drugs, then why use drugs? And when?" She has a hunch that the use of antidepressants will keep spreading simply because they reinforce the feeling of helplessness: sufferers come to feel that only outside intervention can combat their malaise. "There is nothing I can do," the depressed person can say. "It's not me, it's chemical."

Hazleton's book was prompted by a deep dolor that overcame her in 1980 and lasted for months. "I naively hoped that in the course of working on [this book], I would work all depression out of me forever," she writes. Instead, she "let go of easy hope" and learned that the malady must be faced and worked through. "Suffering once accepted loses its edge," she concludes. "The terror of it lessens, and what remains is generally far more manageable than we had imagined... There is no perfect solution to depression, nor should there be. And odd as this may sound at first statement, we should be glad of that. It keeps us human." —By John Leo

Less a Movie than a Cause

Sakharov, HBO, June 20, 8 p.m. E.D.T.

On those rare occasions when front-page headlines coincide with Hollywood shooting schedules, a movie can suddenly be transformed into a political event. It happened in 1979, when *The China Syndrome* was released the same month as the nuclear accident at Three Mile Island. It occurred again last year, when ABC's *The Day After* was broadcast just as public concern over the nuclear arms race was reaching a peak. The latest case of such serendipitous timing is *Sakharov*, a two-hour HBO docudrama on the dissident Soviet physicist and Nobel Peace Prize laureate, whose plight is attracting worldwide attention.

The made-for-pay-TV film has been in the works for two years. Co-produced with HBO by Herbert Brodtkin and Robert Berger (the pair responsible for *Holocaust* and *The Missiles of October*, among other TV docudramas) and written by David Rintels (whose research included extensive interviews with Sakharov's stepchildren, now living in the U.S.), the film was shot last fall in Austria and London, completed in April and scheduled for broadcast in September. Then real-life events intervened. On May 2, Sakharov is believed to have begun a hunger strike to protest the Soviet authorities' refusal to let his wife leave the country for treatment of heart disease and glaucoma. With news about the scientist's health or whereabouts curtailed and world concern for his safety growing, HBO executives acceded to a plea from the Sakharov children that an immediate broadcast might help their parents' cause. Result: the film will be given an advance showing next week.

In the hard-nosed world of national television scheduling, such changes are not made lightly. The HBO executives had to overcome doubts, both about letting the film be used for political purposes and about damaging its commercial prospects. With HBO's June schedule long since fixed, the last-minute shift meant the network could not promote the movie as extensively as it would like. Moreover, next week's telecast, which probably will draw a large audience, could hurt the ratings when the film is shown again in September. "At first I resisted the change," says HBO President Michael Fuchs. "I said, 'It's a movie, not a cause.' But now it has become a cause."



Robards and Jackson as the dissidents
Weighted by the burden of sainthood.

After viewing the TV drama, supporters of the cause may find themselves wishing that *Sakharov* were a better movie. Despite some effective moments, it is routine and rather leaden, afflicted with that odd strain of arthritis that frequently sets in when TV tackles weighty subjects.

The story opens with Sakharov, a widely honored physicist who pioneered development of the Soviet Union's hydrogen bomb, beginning to question the arms race he helped foster and to resist the Soviet regime's efforts to stifle internal dissent. He quickly graduates from petition signing to more visible protests. He and his second wife, Pediatrician Yelena Bon-

ner, become leaders of a group of dissident intellectuals. Finally, in response to increasing harassment by Soviet officials, he reluctantly sends his stepchildren and their families out of the country for safety.

As Sakharov, Jason Robards provides a commanding presence but few signs of emotional life. His mournful, hound-dog face, lower lip jutting forward in stoic determination, looks ready to apply for enshrinement on Mount Rushmore. He sheds little light on the motives behind Sakharov's late-blooming activism, though the fault may lie more in Rintels' overly reverent script than in Robards' characterization. Glenda Jackson, making a rare U.S. TV performance, brings a few moments of passion to her role as Yelena. In one scene, she chillingly describes the courtroom cheers that greeted a death sentence handed out to some Jewish friends charged with treason. But Jackson too seems weighed down by the burden of secular sainthood. In a typical exchange, Sakharov laments the expulsion of his stepdaughter from the university. "They're punishing our children for what we do," he says. Responds Yelena: "What we do is right."

The docudrama's portrayal of Soviet life is unconvincing, especially after the flavorful re-creations in such recent films as *Gorky Park* and *Moscow on the Hudson*. Its aspirations to realism are frequently betrayed by melodramatics. KGB agents seem to lurk behind every door, like B-movie heavies. But when a witness at a political trial surreptitiously slips a sheaf of documents to Sakharov just before taking the stand, the action is miraculously unseen by any of the guards in the crowded courtroom.

All of this may matter little in a film whose interest transcends its artistic shortcomings. *Sakharov* brings the story of a courageous man to an audience that may know little of him beyond a few sentences from Dan Rather on the evening news.

(An update to be inserted at the end of the telecast will fill viewers in on the latest developments.) The film has already been seen on Dutch TV, and will be shown in several other European countries. *Sakharov* probably should be compared, not to such other TV biographical epics as *George Washington* or *Kennedy*, but to those social-problem dramas that aim to educate viewers and perhaps rouse them to action. If Sakharov helps mobilize public pressure on the Soviet regime to end its persecution of the Sakharovs, then this TV movie can justifiably call itself a grand success. —By Richard Zoglin



Robards, center, attends a demonstration: ready for Rushmore

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You Could Be Better Than You Are...

Generally we are satisfied with our humanity; i.e., except for an occasional demented Balkan count or shaman, we do not want to be bats, wolves or other beasts. However, that we are accustomed to ourselves does not justify mindless zoological chauvinism: the pighheaded insistence that we are the perfect species in every detail. It is obvious to the fair-minded that other creatures have come by excellent characteristics, some of which are worth our looking into, in design terms. Such major innovations as cold blood, gills and wings, though ingenious, are probably too exotic for our kind, but there are a number of minor, stylistic features developed by other mammals that might be useful and enjoyable for us to possess. Some adaptations that could be worked into the basic human model without drastically altering it come quickly to mind.

Functionally, our noses are disgraceful. In millenniums past they were adequate, if not outstanding organs, but we have let ourselves go to the dogs in this regard and now can barely distinguish very good from very bad smells. In contrast, an ordinary, inbred cocker spaniel can stand in a field and by sniffing learn many interesting things about current but invisible events and beings, what has happened there recently and who will appear within the next few minutes. Even a modest improvement in our olfactory sense would make it virtually impossible to lose scented car keys, checkbooks and golf balls. Wives would know immediately if husbands had been working late, as they claimed, or in fact had been cavorting with the boys or other girls. Children could not cop false pleas that they had too brushed their teeth and that they had not run through the camellias. By using their noses, many mammals can determine whether others are fearful, hostile, lovable, etc. This would be an area in which we might well specialize, so as to be able to smell out the true intentions of politicians, automobile salesmen, lawyers and the like.

We have also declined badly in regard to hairiness. If we could manage to become as hirsute as even our medium ancient forebears, there would be much less reason than there is to worry about OPEC, the greenhouse effect and the possibility of a Toronto-Montreal World Series. If we were heavily and attractively furred we would have no need to scrag and endanger otters, spotted cats and baby seals. This change might work some hardship on commercial trappers and furrriers, but the overall economic consequences would be stimulative. The millions of dollars now spent to clean, conserve and coif our teeny tatches of body hair would be multiplied many times if we had full, luxurious pelts to groom.

Beyond the practical benefit for people who have to work on concrete floors or run in city marathons, hooves would have a similarly good impact on business. The demand for utility, sport and dress hoof protectors might in fact be sufficient to revitalize the ailing steel industry. The loss in terms of boutiques and shoe clerks would be more than compensated for by the return of blacksmiths and their shops, three or

four of which would no doubt be needed in every decent shopping mall.

Something full and swishy in the way of tails also would be an economic boon (consider the industries now supported by such minor appendages as earlobes and fingers). But the true benefit here would be aesthetic. No dispassionate observer can compare the back end of, say, a raccoon with that of even a shapely human and not admit that the former is the more handsome. If we could learn to use a tail as expertly as do squirrels and dogs we would be generally more communicative and, in specific activities like oratory and dramatics, marvelously more expressive. Given a long, thick, flexible brush to work with, a Jesse Jackson or a Meryl Streep would upgrade their performing arts in quantum fashion.

ILLUSTRATION BY BILL GILBERT



Physiologists have already suggested that induced human hibernation may be possible in the future and would be desirable for crews making long voyages in spacecraft. The technique would clearly have many domestic uses. Rather than being shuttled between swimming pools, camps and undeserving grandparents, children during their summer vacations could be stored in cool basements. Rainy vacations at expensive resorts, interminable visits from in-laws and perhaps all of February north of the Ohio River might be passed in pleasant, restorative hibernation rather than in misery.

Many of our fellow mammals are sexually responsive for only a few weeks, once a year. Enormous social changes could be expected if we adopted this arrangement, and therefore the matter should be extensively debated before irrevocable decisions are made. However, some affirmative arguments suggest themselves. There would be only a very limited, seasonal demand for pornography, rock and country and western music, soap operas, poorly lighted and expensive bars, high-heeled shoes, psychiatrists and after-shave lotions. Males would not be obliged to put on unseemly macho displays, nor females to have so many sick headaches. Advertisers would not have to tell fibs about the aphrodisiac qualities of beers, cigarettes and automobiles. Able but sexually unattractive people could become TV anchors, even candidates for President, and generally suffer less discrimination. Education would become the principal function of secondary schools, colleges and universities.

Crimes of passion and thwarted passion would be eliminated during most of the year. The Arousal Season would no doubt be frenzied but not necessarily violent, since the frustrations, ambiguities and hypocrisies of present courtship practices would probably seem a great waste of precious time. Two new holidays would naturally evolve and be cause for universal celebration: the Mating Time and Birthday Weeks. Since they would emphasize our common humanity they might be expected to promote worldwide sister- and brotherhood.

All of which, if nothing else, may be an optimistic way and reason to reflect on the future of genetic engineering.

—By Bill Gilbert

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While the instrument panel incorporates such informative BMW innovations as a Service Indicator that determines your individual driving style and recommends when routine services are due. And an onboard computer informs you of range on remaining fuel, average speed and outside temperature as well as other useful data.

The 325e exudes the same attentiveness to detail and quality that characterizes all BMWs and elicited this from Motor Trend: "doors close with a nice solid clunk, gear changes are crisp as cold celery and the steering as precise as a dial indicator."

In sum, it expands the prerequisites for all those cars seeking credibility as high-performance sports sedans. Every nuance of the 325e's performance has been heightened to elevate driving from a mere pastime into passion.



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